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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1485

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'SCINTEIA' MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF ALBANIAN INDEPENDENCE

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Nov 77 p 5 AU

[Editorial note on the 33d anniversary of Albania's liberation and 65th anniversary of its independence]

[Text] November 29th is the date of the 33d anniversary of Albania's liberation from the fascist yoke and of the victory of the people's revolution against the bourgeois-feudal government. The Albanian people are celebrating also the 65th anniversary of their national independence, which was proclaimed on 28 November 1912.

As the acme of the struggle waged for centuries against foreign invaders and native oppressors, the victory won on 29 November 1944 marked the birth of a new Albania and opened up broad possibilities for the Albanian people to fulfill their aspirations for a free and independent development.

During the era of the people's rule, the Albanian working people, guided by the workers party, carried out changes in the various sectors of political, socioeconomic and cultural life. The policy of industrialization materialized in the development of new industrial branches. Important changes affected the life of the Albanian village; cooperative agriculture showed important production achievements. Important developments were marked in the housing sector; the network of educational, social and cultural institutions expanded.

Inspired by feelings of attachment for all the peoples who are building the new system, the Romanian people follow with interest the successes attained by the socialist builders of Albania. The traditional ties of friendship, born in the joint struggle for freedom and for a better life, have been given new content under socialism; favorable premises exist for expanding and deepening the bilateral cooperation in various areas, in the mutual interest and that of the cause of socialism and peace.

On the occasion of the anniversary of Albania's independence and liberation, the Romanian people convey congratulations to the Albanian people and wish them new victories in their work to build socialism and to develop their fatherland.

CSO: 2700

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RESULTS OF ROMANIAN RESEARCH IN HUNGARIAN ARCHIVES

Cluj-Napoca TRIBUNA in Romanian 29 Sep 77 p 7

[Interview with Prof Al. Matei, director of the State Archives in Cluj-Napoca, by Marin Oprea: "Research in Foreign Archives"]

[Text] [Question] This year's celebration of the centennial of the Romanian state's independence was a good opportunity to intensify scientific research for the elaboration of certain works and studies regarding the significance of this great historical event for the destiny of the Romanian people. The research undertaken in foreign archives has made a significant contribution for this purpose. What place does this research have in our overall historical research?

[Answer] Throughout the decades, numerous actions have been undertaken to complete the existing documentary testimony found in our country with those found in foreign archives referring to the history of the Romanian people. In this endeavor, I could speak of a centuries long tradition. It is sufficient, I think, to note here the names of some of those who were pioneers in these activities. There was a Dimitrie Cantemir with his fruitful investigations in the Ottoman archives and, later, in the Russian ones. A Gheorghe Sincai and his monumental and fundamental "Hronica" [Chronical] resulting from the documents in the rich archives and libraries in the West: Vienna, Rome, Buda, Pesta and so forth. The 27 volumes, totaling, according to a summary calculation, approximately 2,000 pages of manuscript, resulting from the above-mentioned investigations constitute the first great collection of documents in our historiography. Certainly, the research was continued by numerous persons of Romanian culture.

Research in foreign archives was intensified in recent years, according to the tasks laid down by the 9th, 10th and, especially, the 11th party congresses within the framework of cultural and scientific agreements and certain special understandings concluded between our country and a series of other countries. For example, valuable archives were researched in certain countries such as: England, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Poland, Hungary, the Soviet Union, Turkey and the



Vatican, with the discoveries made there thus enriching the National Archives Fund with an important number of microfilms, photocopies and Xerox copies produced from documents which contain valuable information regarding the 2,000-year-old history of the Romanian people.

[Question] In general, what do these documents contain?

[Answer] The content of these documents is not only very rich, but also very varied. For those persons who wish to have a more encompassing picture of those documents that have been brought into our country to date and, certainly, for the interested specialists, there are available "reports" by the persons who have carried out research in foreign archives and which are published in the pages of "Revista arhivelor" [Journal of the Archives]. In order to answer your question, I want to mention that these documents contain multiple points of information, both from a social-economic point of view and from a political-cultural view, presenting a special interest for completing the data known to date regarding certain events and personalities in the history of our people. I would like to note here, under a general category, that there are certain letters of the Romanian voivodes, diplomatic reports, memoirs, proclamations, manifests and the correspondence of certain important people of Romanian political and cultural affairs. Some of these referred to the revolt of Horea, Closca and Crisan, the revolution led by Tudor Vladimirescu, the revolutionary events of 1848-1849, the Unification of the Romanian Principalities, the war for independence, the Great Revolt of 1907, the struggle for the creation of Romanian state unity and the actions of solidarity of the Romanian people with the struggle of other peoples for national and social liberty. Some of these have already been validated, others are currently being validated.

[Question] As we know, not long ago you undertook a trip for study and research in Hungary. What was the purpose of this trip?

[Answer] In recent years, on the basis of a cultural and scientific agreement between our country and the People's Republic of Hungary, a number of trips have been made for study and research in Hungarian archives and, furthermore, visits were made to our archives by archivists and historians from our neighboring, friendly country. In our visits to date, research was carried out in archives created by the governmental authorities of Transylvania, by certain Hungarian ministries and by different economic, cultural and financial enterprises and institutes whose files contain precious historical documents regarding the history of our people in general, including the political, economic and cultural relations between the Romanian countries throughout the ages. My trip to Hungary did not propose but to continue this research and to return with new documents that would be as valuable as possible in order to serve, first of all, to bring about a better understanding of the two great anniversary events of this year by the entire Romanian people: the centennial celebration of Romania's national independence and the 70th anniversary of the

Great Peasant Revolt of 1907. Additionally, knowing that I would be working for 2 months in the midst of my Hungarian colleagues, I proposed that within the possible limits of time under such circumstances when everything is subordinated to the principal purpose of the visit and the time of my hosts, to also carry out with some of these colleagues a useful exchange of experiences regarding archives and history as we do every time our Hungarian colleagues visit us in Romania. In other words, to have a better mutual understanding of personal cultural-scientific concerns and so forth.

[Question] Which files and more important collections did you research? Are you satisfied with your results?

[Answer] I would like to mention the fact that during the 60 days I spent in the beautiful and hospitable Hungarian capital I enjoyed a broad range of assistance and optimum conditions to carry out my research activities in the respective archives as provided by the heads and personnel of the two institutes where I worked: the Hungarian National Archives and the Archives of Military History. Among the ranks of these persons, let me mention Academician Prof Gyozo Ember, the director general of the Hungarian National Archives, Ivan Borsa, the deputy director, Istvan Bekeny, section chief, Dr Zsolt Trocsanyi, Tibor Papp, the chief of the Archives of Military History, Hedvig Spaczai and others. With the first of these colleagues, the venerable academician Gyozo Ember I had interesting and useful exchanges of experiences and ideas on many problems. With regard to the great experience and efforts invested by Ember in the elaboration of an interesting work, "The Lexicon of Archive Terminology (Hungarian)," which, I found out during our discussions, he has been working on for nearly two decades, I proposed to share his opinions with my colleagues in an article to be published in our journal "Revista arhivelor." I proposed to do the same thing after some especially interesting "conversations" that I had with another reputed archives specialist and man of broad culture, Istvan Bekeny, who has translated several novels and works of prose of Romanian literature, including Eminescu's "Geniu pustiu" [Wild Genius]. With regard to the actual research, I would like to point out that it especially focused on documents in archives' files produced by the presidency of the Council of Ministers and the Ministry of the Interior, at the Hungarian National Archives, and the collection the "Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution of 1918-1919" at the Archives of Military History. In the files where I carried out my research, I think I succeeded in finding certain documents of great historical value for us from 1877-1878 regarding the Romanian-Russian-Turkish War, from 1907 referring to the peasants' revolt in Romania, or those regarding the events of 1918 which culminated in the unification of Transylvania with Romania.

[Question] Can you refer more exactly to these documents?

[Answer] Among the documents referring to the events of 1877-1878, I could mention the series of consular reports that arrived in Budapest from

diverse European capitals or other locations and in which information was transmitted from or about Romania and the activities of certain Romanian political figures during these years, such as Mihail Kogalniceanu, King Carol, D. Sturdza, I. C. Bratianu, Lascar Catargiu, I. Ghica, Balcescu, Florescu and Epureanu; or foreigners such as I. Andrassy, C. Tisza, Savet Pasa, Aaly Bey, Colonel Mansfield and Counts Zicky and Ritter von Zwiedinek. All these documents, brought back to Romania in the form of Xerox copies, contain different evaluations regarding the position of Austro-Hungary and Turkey toward Romania, Romanian-Russian relations and the difficulties encountered by Romania for the recognition by the Great Powers of the independence won by the Romanian people and paid for in blood. Also important are the consular reports which reflect the military operations, with reference to the heroism and sacrifices of the Romanian soldiers. Other documents tell of the national movement of the Romanian population in Transylvania in support of the war of independence and the presence of the Transylvanian Romanians in Romania, reflecting the breath of the national struggle during this period in Transylvania.

Similarly, the documents from 1918-1919 are valuable for presenting information about the political and military actions of the Romanians in Transylvania in the realization of the event of 1 December 1918. Among these documents, this year we will probably request microfilm copies and even the Xeroxing of many documents in order to make them available to our researchers who are preparing a series of works for the 60th anniversary, in 1978, of the process of creating the unitary Romanian national state.

The research in the rich Hungarian archives will continue. For this purpose, new trips are planned, established by joint agreements between the two countries. Personally, in the trips that I am to make in the coming months, I hope to continue to discover new documents.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CSR-GDR TREATY PUBLISHED ON BORDER AFFAIRS

[Editorial Report] East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German, Part II, No 16, 2 November 1977, pages 341-350, contains the announcement, dated 30 September 1977, on the ratification and enactment of the treaty of 8 September 1977 between the CSR and the GDR on cooperation at the joint state border and on mutual aid in border affairs. The text of the treaty is set forth in 32 articles; also included is an index, with reference to Article 20, which lists the streets and roads located along or near the CSR-GDR state border.

CSO: 2300

DANGERS OF "THREE WORLDS THEORY" STRESSED BY PARTY DAILY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Nov 77 p 1

[Editorial: "The Struggle Against Modern Revisionism--A Decisive Condition for the Victory of the Revolution"]

[Text] Yesterday, our press published the communique on the development of the proceedings of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the party. The questions it examined, the report of the Politburo on the struggle against various trends of modern revisionism in the ranks of the international communist movement, delivered by the first secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the other report on the strengthening of the work of the party for the education of the communists and cadres, delivered by the secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Ramiz Alia, are of a very great importance for our party and the whole country.

Our party, being consistent in its unflinching principled line and loyal to the end toward Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, examines the problem of the struggle against various revisionist trends at a key moment for the international Marxist-Leninist movement, for the destinies of socialism and revolution in the world and the interests of the liberation struggles of the peoples. Today, as never before, all the opportunist and revisionist currents, from the old social-democracy down to the advocates of the "theory of three worlds" have unleashed a general offensive against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary strategy.

Imperialism, bourgeoisie and the forces of reaction, encouraged by the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, by the bourgeois degeneration of the former communist parties in the West and the activation of various opportunist currents and tendencies, the so-called "theory of three worlds" included, in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, have intensified the pressure against the revolution and the liberation movement of the peoples. All these enemies of the proletariat and the peoples have united their forces for a common aim: to prevent the revolution, to attack Marxism-Leninism, to ideologically befuddle the working masses and the peoples, to split the revolutionary forces and to put down the patriotic and

freedom-loving spirit of the peoples, to preserve the capitalist order and the neocolonialist domination of imperialism intact.

All this shows that modern revisionism, just as in the past, today too, remains the main danger to the communist and workers movement. Remaining always loyal to Marxism-Leninism and fulfilling its internationalist duties through to the end, our party stressed at its 7th congress that the continuation, extension and deepening of the ideological struggle against modern revisionism and opportunism, against all its trends and its manifestations, in whatever aspect they are manifested, constitute an important and imperative task for all the Marxist-Leninists, for all the genuine revolutionaries. In his speech at the 7th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha said "the historic burden falls on them to defend Marxism-Leninism from revisionist attacks and distortions, to defend the revolutionary line of the true world communist movement from influences and pressures brought to bear upon it by the bourgeoisie and the various opportunist forces, to defend proletarian internationalism against the great-power chauvinism of the Soviet social imperialists and bourgeois nationalism of the other opportunists."

Since its founding and constantly, the Party of Labor of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head has always considered the principled and uncompromising struggle against the revisionist betrayal as a struggle of vital importance for the destinies of the revolution and socialism in our country. But the struggle our party has waged against modern revisionism and in defense of Marxism-Leninism has, at the same time, been a clear expression of the fact that it has considered it as a lofty internationalist duty, which it has always honorably accomplished, irrespective of the difficulties and sacrifices. This is shown by the whole history of our party, its protracted principled and determined struggle against the known Soviet revisionism, against Yugoslav revisionism, which has attacked and is attacking the Marxist-Leninist theory and the construction of socialism and which preaches the rotten theory of the "nonaligned countries," against the theories of the revisionists who have adopted the name of "Eurocommunism," who have openly abandoned the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as against the claims of the "theory of three worlds," which serves the strengthening of the domination of imperialism and capitalism and the extinguishing of the contradictions that the proletariat and the oppressed peoples have with the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

The defense of Marxism-Leninism has been and remains for our party a great question of principle. Without fighting against revisionism, against all the anti-Marxist currents and deviations, imperialism cannot be fought either, socialism cannot be built with success and the homeland cannot be defended, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat cannot be supported, the liberation struggle of the peoples cannot be supported. Precisely because our party has resolutely defended Marxism-Leninism at home and abroad and has implemented it with loyalty, that our people are

building socialism with success, are guaranteeing their happy present and future.

The analysis that Comrade Enver Hoxha made at the plenum in regard to various revisionist currents as well as their practical activity to distort Marxism-Leninism and undermine the cause of the revolution and the peoples, will make our party even more capable and determined that, just as until now, it will cope with every revisionist challenge, fight with unflinching courage and confidence for the final victory over every kind of opportunism. At the same time, this analysis makes a contribution of our party to the common struggle being waged at present by the true revolutionaries in defense of Marxism-Leninism and the correct revolutionary line, against the old and new revisionists.

The further aggravation of the class struggle between the revolution and counterrevolution, socialism and capitalism, Marxism-Leninism and revisionism and opportunism on an international scale, the successful waging of this struggle by our party and country require more than ever the militant mobilization of all the forces, the raising to a new and higher scale of the struggle of our party and the entire people for the construction, the constant consolidation and the defense of socialism in Albania.

To be able to encounter the enemies and the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockades successfully, as we have up to now, and to be able to further the cause of the revolution and the reinforcement and the defense of national independence without interruption, it is, above all, essential to constantly strengthen the party and increasingly temper it ideologically and organizationally and to struggle persistently for the strict implementation of the Leninist norms and a continual increase and improvement of the party's leading role in all fields and aspects.

In the struggle for a correct implementation of the party's Marxist-Leninist line in every field and sector of life it is necessary to increasingly strengthen the unity of thought and revolutionary action within its ranks. The militant unity of the people round the party should constantly be steeled and the class struggle against the enemies and within the ranks of the people and the party itself should always be waged correctly in order to prevent the penetration of alien and hostile ideology and to let no enemy harm, no matter how little, the party and the socialist road of our people.

The party has always stressed that the country's defense is a duty above all others. However, in the current situation it is essential that the communists and cadres should understand and assess even more effectively the vital importance of this duty and remain in the forefront of the struggle to strengthen defense. They should perform extensive work to constantly heighten the patriotic spirit of the masses and constantly increase their vigilance and combat-readiness.

The great revolutionary tasks imposed on our party and people under the current circumstances and conditions make more imperative than ever the further reinforcement and rapid development of the country's socialist economy and the increase of production in all branches enabling it ever better to satisfy the needs of the people, the state and the country's defense. This calls for greater mobilization from everyone in order to fulfill the plans in all fields without gaps, as well as for a high awareness and a more resolute and courageous struggle to overcome any difficulty or obstacle of whatever nature.

In the current conditions the struggle for the correct understanding and implementation with ever greater persistence of the great Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance assumes particular importance.

In the effort to successfully fulfill the great and difficult, but glorious, national and international tasks facing our party and people in the current situation the many-sided education of communists, cadres, intelligentsia and all the workers assumes a leading role. The third Central Committee plenum defined important tasks in this field.

In the first place, it is essential to strengthen the educational and persuasive work of the party so that our people will be more familiar with the situations and their development. They should bear in mind the situation and draw tasks accordingly for their work. In this respect, there now exists a sound situation. When it comes to defending the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the just cause of the people and the ideals of communism, our people have shown great evidence of sound political and class vigilance, perception, readiness and determination to overcome any difficulty and accept any sacrifice. This is a great victory of the party. Yet, this victory should be deepened and advanced. This is dictated by the current circumstances and conditions.

The party and Comrade Enver teach us to be aware of the situations so as to be able to encounter them more effectively, never to be caught by surprise and to be able to distinguish friend and foe. If our people assess the existing situations effectively, they will then be able to draw concrete tasks for themselves. They will work with mobilization, revolutionary spirit and sacrifice, ever increasing discipline and determination and will implement more broadly and more persistently the principle of self-reliance.

To be able to encounter the situation; to fulfill the magnificent tasks set by the historic seventh party congress in the political, ideological, economic, military, cultural and educational fields; and to accomplish the internationalist tasks posed by the congress: All this requires a further increase in the revolutionary spirit of communists, cadres and workers, as well as the consolidation of their proletarian outlook through studying and mastering Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our party and Comrade Enver. It also requires the active participation in



the country's socialist construction, especially by their direct participation in the class struggle. No communist, cadre and worker can remain outside the class struggle. This great Marxist-Leninist teaching has been fully confirmed by all of our party's 36-year experience and revolutionary struggle. Manifestations of liberalism in the class struggle toward the activity of the enemy and alien influences and errors and shortcomings are harmful and fraught with dangerous consequences for the cause of socialism. They are grist to the mill of the class enemy. Therefore, they should be fought and uprooted with the greatest determination everywhere and whenever they occur.

The party has requested and requests that its members and the cadres of the party, state, economy and culture, servicemen and civilians should be progressive people, wherever they work and militate. They should be people with broad ideological and cultural horizons and morally upright. They should always remain in the role of the vanguard fighter, in the most advanced front of the struggle for socialist construction and the country's defense. They should lead the masses and be among their ranks. They should never remain at a standstill and be satisfied with a routine pace. They should undertake ever growing tasks. By their knowledge, skill, revolutionary spirit and example they should lead the masses to secure rapid development in every field.

The present stage of our socialist construction, the intensification and modernization of the socialist economy in the cities and the countryside and the current and future great and complicated tasks facing us require that the communists, cadres and various specialists should more thoroughly assimilate and master the party's economic policy and the economic laws of the development of the socialist economy because only thus can they solve the problems correctly. The working masses as well should learn the party's economic policy and the laws of the socialist economy so that they can apply them effectively to the advantage of socialist construction and the fulfillment of the tasks in the field of the economy and thus totally fulfill the state plans, not only in their quantitative indices, but by all means, in all qualitative, economic and financial indices, rejecting any tendency to globalism and onesidedness. Comrade Enver teaches us that everyone should be fully aware of the policy behind what he produces, why he is producing it and for whom he is producing it. Only the producer who is aware of the aims and the objectives of socialist production is able to achieve successes and completely fulfill the economic plan, just as in the case of war it is only the conscious combatant, who is aware why he is fighting, that is able to achieve victory against the enemy.

A great, modern, intensive and complex socialist economy, as our economy has become and is increasingly becoming, requires an even higher technical, scientific and professional level on the part of our people. It requires a radical overcoming of artisan concepts and expressions and replacing them with concepts and practices responding to the current needs of our

socialist development. Because of this, it is essential to constantly raise the technical, scientific and professional level of cadres, communists and workers, this being an inseparable part of their communist education. Any manifestation of empiricism and practicicism should be resolutely resisted and any spirit of intellectualist megalomania and complacency should be uprooted. Our cadres and specialists should be guided by a revolutionary method which encourages training and a constant improvement of their knowledge. They should not chase after pay and position but after further intellectual development and fulfill the tasks ever more effectively.

The accomplishment of the important tasks set by the third plenum of the party Central Committee requires that the party committees and organizations in the field and in the army improve their entire educational performance, increase their effectiveness and organize and direct themselves in the most skilled manner.

The creation of profound convictions among the people is of particular importance. This requires the intensification of the argumentative force of educational work and party propaganda, as well as extensive and proper use of theoretical arguments and arguments derived from revolutionary practice. It is essential to resist any inclination to replace clarifying and persuasion work by administrative orders and methods.

The decisions of the Third Central Committee Plenum will give a new impetus to the whole work of the party to implement the seventh congress' magnificent objectives in order to advance the country's socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland, to successfully face any situation and to wage, as always, successfully, the struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, modern revisionism, opportunism of all hues and reaction.

CSO: 2100

'TRIBUNA' SCORES PCI CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 39, 28 Sep 77 p 2

[Article by Josef Skutecsky: "Operation According to L. L. Radice"]

[Text] Let us imagine there is a surgeon who would declare that by performing an operation he will remove a person's brain, thus improving him while, naturally, keeping him alive. Normal people would undoubtedly consider him insane and an appropriate commission would deprive him of his medical license.

It appears, however, that we occasionally meet such "surgeons" in certain areas. Thus Lucio Lombardo Radice attracted attention recently; he is a mathematician who is also involved in politics, and is even a member of the PCI [Italian Communist Party] Central Committee. Radice is among those who gladly give interviews dealing with the most varied problems. The contents of his interviews are being broadcast by different "independent" stations, especially Radio Free Europe, with similar relish.

In a discussion with the Turin daily LA STAMPA, Radice declared that "the concept of Marxism-Leninism has disappeared from the vocabulary of the PCI as a result of a natural process in the same way as the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat." He emphasized further that "the fifth article of the party statutes which obliges party members to follow Marxist-Leninist principles is a dead limb and as such it must be cut off." As to the time when this change will take place, Radice is of the opinion that it will happen during the next 15th PCI Congress. He added that "all the leading party workers are favorably inclined to such a change."

It is perfectly clear not only to us that after this kind of surgical incision the PCI would cease to be a communist party. The daily conducting the interview also showed its doubts. To the question as to whether the PCI is a Marxist party at present, Radice has answered that "it would be preferable to say that it originates from Marx."

According to the CTK reporter from Rome, this discussion began as an answer to questions asked during a dialogue between the Catholic Church and

the communists, specifically by the editor in chief of the magazine CIVILA CATTOLICA, the Jesuit Sorge, who is also one of the pope's chief advisers.

An article in the September issue of this Jesuit monthly indicated that Catholics cannot cooperate with the Italian communists as long as, among other things, they accept the theory that Christianity allegedly has economic causes. David Willy, the BBC Turin reporter, says that this article is actually a Euro-Catholic manifesto intended for Eurocommunists and that Pope Paul VI himself approved it before its publication.

The objections raised against the Italian communists by the Jesuit theoretician Father B. Sorge were answered by the PCI Central Committee member Lucio Lombardo Radice not only promptly but also positively. The BBC reports that to Vatican observers the prompt communist answer to the CIVILA CATTOLICA article proves that an important barrier dividing Catholics and communists in Italy has been removed.

According to Radice there are reasons for cultural compromise between the communists and Catholics. If one is to talk about a compromise, however, we must point out that in order to reach a compromise between two antagonistic parties it is always assumed that each side will give up something, some viewpoint. Radice renounced Marxism-Leninism. This would be adequately reciprocated by the Catholic Church renouncing the teachings of Christ. So far, however, we have not yet heard anything about it from Father Sorge and we never will, either.

What Radice, a member of the PCI Central Committee, said with regard to Marxism-Leninism has no precedent in the history of the communist movement. Radice's statements parting with Marxism-Leninism created an appropriate stir. We have, therefore, been waiting to see what stand the PCI leadership will take toward his declaration. So far, however, we have only had the opportunity to learn the view of one member of the PCI leadership and Secretariat, Gionni Cervetti, the way it was published in the daily LA STAMPA on 18 September. He characterized the core of the problem as "one of formulation (?!?), which can be solved only by the party congress." As for Radice's statement itself, "the party allegedly considers it improper." Isn't this, however, rather insufficient?

Shortly thereafter Lombardo Radice let himself be heard in the same newspaper. He disputed that he would allegedly state the official viewpoint of the party leadership already shared by all its members. He declared further that he spoke only for himself, thereby expressing his own expectations.

Anticommunist centers received Radice's words with open satisfaction. And it is no surprise that Radio Free Europe is especially jubilant. In recent days, it has been serving us Radice with great satisfaction in its Czech-language broadcasts (and in his case it is not for the first time, anyway), with appropriate comments, naturally.

It does not surprise us in the least. The history of Marxism-Leninism and the international workers' movement has been, since its beginnings, accompanied by anticommunist assaults and attempts to revise and reform Marxism.

However, the history of the communist movement also proves how futile and ridiculous were all efforts to stop the wheels of mankind's modern revolutionary history. The communist and revolutionary workers' movements have only gained strength in the struggle against these efforts and have won one position after another. We are mindful of this and remember it especially today, on the eve of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

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CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHECK OF PRAGUE CPCZ ORGANIZATION UNCOVERED IMPERFECTIONS

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 39, 28 Sep 77 p 4

[Interview with Zdenek Dedic, chairman of the Municipal Control and Audit Commission in Prague, and Jiri Havlat, member of the Commission: "For Thorough Application of the Party Statutes"]

[Text] The application of the party statutes is one of the duties of every communist and of every basic organization. However, not all of its articles have been applied consistently. Therefore, in its two consecutive checks the Municipal Control and Audit Commission in Prague reviewed the application of party statutes in cases of violation of party and state discipline. Thus, it gained extensive information and experience.

That also provided the topic for our interview with the chairman of the Municipal Control and Audit Commission in Prague, comrade Zdenek Dedic, and its member, comrade Jiri Havlat.

[Dedic] We collected quite a great amount of valuable information and data which were not easy to process.

[Havlat] We--I mean the last investigation--checked not only those organizations that we had screened two years ago, but some others as well. The reason? To make certain comparisons.

[TRIBUNA] And have you found any differences?

[Dedic] Indeed we have, and considerable ones at that. We found shortcomings only in isolated cases in those organizations which we had checked in 1975. Most of those organizations fulfilled the adopted measures. A proof thereof is an improved level of the agenda at committee and membership meetings. The difference between the two groups was quite striking.

[Havlat] What comrade Dedic says appeared also from other activities. As a matter of fact, in the latter group we encountered shortcomings similar to those detected in the former group in 1975. Naturally, we asked ourselves:

Why is that so? There can be only one explanation: Because thus far the managing organs were unable to generalize to a sufficient degree the data obtained by the control and to apply them in order to eliminate the errors not only in the controlled organizations but also in those organizations where no checks were made but which experienced problems similar to those in the controlled groups.

[TRIBUNA] What specific shortcomings were involved?

[Dedic] For instance, we ascertained that some party members systematically failed to fulfill their party obligations; whether it concerned their regular attendance of party meetings, prompt payment of the correct amount of their membership dues, their regular participation in the party education program, or the compliance with decisions adopted at membership meetings, and yet no due measures have been taken against them. Or such measures have failed to produce proper results because they are regarded as formalities. In some cases the committees lacked comprehensive knowledge of offenses committed by their members.

[TRIBUNA] Could you name some of those organizations which failed to fulfill their obligations dating from 1975?

[Dedic] As we said, there were a few of those. Among those which failed to fulfill the enacted measures are, for example, the CPCZ basic organization at the Administration of Communications Construction, where following the previous check in 1975 the membership meeting adopted the decision that "more attention must be given to upgrade the party discipline," but the attendance there declined from 73 percent in 1975 to 65.8 percent.

[TRIBUNA] But how can it be that party discipline has been defied in that and other organizations?

[Havlat] Because the cases involving a breach of party discipline have not been dealt with on an appropriate level. Frequently all that happens in party groups are talks with the basic organization chairman, which means that the solution in such cases is not applied as an act of effective education.

[Dedic] Even cases of inconsistent control and insufficient conclusions concerning unfulfilled party decisions have occurred. Their origin may be often found in a non-specific, indirect and unpunctual decision which is the reason why its fulfillment is practically uncontrollable and therefore, nobody can be called to responsibility for the dereliction.

[TRIBUNA] We are also interested in what you found about the enforcement of the party's leading role...

[Havlat] We gained many positive, but unfortunately, also some negative data. Some of the leading workers failed to fulfill properly their appointed tasks. In this respect the controlling group ascertained that although the leading workers-communists cooperated relatively closely with the committees of the CPCZ basic organizations, nevertheless, it was evident from the contents of the adopted decisions that everywhere the process of enforcement of the party's leading role in practical activity has not been understood correctly. In some isolated cases measures against those leading workers who failed to fulfill their appointed tasks have been adopted only against the lower-echelon officials. Therefore, it may be said truthfully that some reserve still exists in the enforcement of the party organizations' right to control the communist-administrators.

[TRIBUNA] Have you found some violations of laws by the communists?

[Dedic] Yes, we did. Some individuals are still violating legal principles; unfortunately, among them are also party members.

[Havlat] For that reason we investigated how the basic organizations are being informed about the criminal actions committed by CPCZ members outside their place of work.

[Dedic] You ask what we found? Well, we found that party organizations are still only incidentally learning about such criminal activities. The reason is inherent in the fact that the measures proposed after the previous check have not been consistently applied, namely, the organization of an information system between the enterprises, plants and organs of law enforcement.

[Havlat] Of course, as concerns the party organizations' knowledge about the results of audits, control and investigations on the premises of the plant and enterprise, the situation has improved. The control organs have been charged with that duty already by the methodology of their control or audit activity, specifically by decree No. 75 of 1959 by the Minister of State Control. This means that the appropriate chairmen must apply the information thus obtained also along the party and labor-union line. Unfortunately, there is a lack of necessary knowledge particularly in those instances where the worker is punished for various offenses committed outside the enterprise.

[Dedic] The follow-up check also proved that in certain cases some committees of CPCZ basic organizations are confused about the proceedings in those instances where the action of the communists conflicts with the valid laws. Then the party proceedings are tied only to the outcome of the investigation by the state organs. If the case is dropped, they don't have a leg to stand on. However, it is the duty of the CPCZ basic organizations to deal with the offenses on the basis of party statutes, that is, even when the cases of violation of state discipline have been dismissed, because our



party's statutes are its internal law. And party conclusions should be drawn in cases of violation of socialist legality.

[TRIBUNA] And what about prevention? Are party organizations dealing with it?

[Havlat] Training programs, lectures and introduction of such problems in production conferences are taking place incidentally, from one case to another, which in most instances is regarded as enough for prevention. Proper attention, however, is not paid to real prevention against the negative phenomena. Therefore, the desirable level has not been reached in this area of party work.

[Dedic] So far we have discussed primarily shortcomings. However, the check has produced predominantly positive data, which is very gratifying.

[TRIBUNA] What then would you say in conclusion of our conversation?

[Dedic] That in most of the checked organizations the follow-up check of the observation of party and state discipline confirmed that the measures stemming from the check in 1975 have been applied. Not every problem has been solved especially in those organizations where the committees did not consistently approach the solution of the existing shortcomings. Organizations with recurrent problems will have to proceed more vigorously and to apply more often the alternatives provided by party statutes in such cases. After all, the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan and the intensification of the party's leading role, and improved quality and efficiency of the work in every sector of the party, state and public activity demand that.

[TRIBUNA] And we have nothing more to say than to thank you.

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CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### NO COMPROMISE WITH RELIGION IS POSSIBLE

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 39, 28 Sep 77 p 8

[Article by Jiri Loukotka: "... Oppressing the Minds of the Living Like a Nightmare"]

[Text] Our party and our socialist state regard the formation of communist conviction based on the scientific view of the world as an indivisible part of the struggle for the new socialist man. We cannot be satisfied with people who are merely loyal to socialism, who merely agree with the party policy. It is necessary that they consciously strive for the victory of the cause of socialism and that they support the communist party's policy from their deep conviction that in every respect this policy ensures an incessant progress of society and satisfies the interests of each of its members. Only such conscious and engaged approach to the fulfillment of the tasks in building of socialism may lead to a successful solution of the increasingly more complex and demanding problems with which the times are facing us.

At the 25th CPSU Congress comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "The strength of our system stems from the consciousness of the masses." As he stressed further, the party considers it its permanent task to educate them in communist consciousness, preparedness, will and ability to build communism. As a matter of fact, there is no place for neutral attitudes and compromises in the current struggle of two world views. In it it is necessary to demonstrate considerable political vigilance, to develop an active, operative and convincing propaganda activity, and to stand up promptly against hostile ideologies.

#### "The Ghosts of the Past"

The formation of communist conviction of the workers and of the young generation and the adoption of the scientific view of the world by the broadest strata of our society, however, are not progressing without obstacles and difficulties. On the one hand, they are striking against the vestiges and bourgeois ideology and petty bourgeoisie left to us as a troublesome heritage

of the past era, and on the other hand, they are taking place in a fierce ideological battle in which the capitalist world and reactionary forces of imperialism are doing all they can to weaken, impair and destroy the process of awareness of our people.

The world socialist system led by the Soviet Union has achieved grandiose successes in the economic, social, political, cultural, scientific and technological areas. The struggle for national liberation is now bringing about the liquidation of the last vestiges of the colonial system whose tentacles used to grip a considerable part of the world. Millions of democratically and progressively thinking people on every continent are demanding more and more urgently that the senseless, hectic arms race be stopped, that the destructive and antihuman weapons of mass annihilation be banned, and that a permanent and just peace be introduced in relations between states and nations. Nevertheless, precisely in this revolutionary time when under the impact of the world revolutionary process and positions of the old world of exploitation and oppression are tumbling down, when reactionary elements are being pushed more and more into the defensive, one must appreciate also the force of Karl Marx's words in his essay "The Eighteenth of Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte": "The traditions of every dead generation are oppressing the minds of the living like a nightmare... Precisely in those times when it seems that the people are striving to transform themselves and everything, to create something unprecedented, exactly in such periods of revolutionary crises they are anxiously raising the ghosts of the past to serve them; they are borrowing their names, battle slogans and costumes in order to stage a new scene of world history in such an old and distinguished disguise and with such a borrowed language."

False, unscientific religious concepts and views have undoubtedly appeared in the forefront among those "ghosts of the past" which the opponents and foes of socialism and communism now are trying to revive at any price and which as vestiges of the past are really oppressing like a nightmare also the minds of many people in our country. Of course, it is true that, as compared with the past, the influence of religion in various areas of the life of society as well as in the life of individuals has substantially declined. At present we may even observe a deep crisis of religion on a world-wide scale, involving all its components, from the theological (dogmatic) basis up to organizational structures and the so called pastoral work of the churches. However, this decline of religion and of the churches' influence on the world-wide scale is not proceeding spontaneously and automatically with the necessity of natural laws. Despite the intensively progressing secularization (in other words, a process of rejection of religion), religion still maintains very strong positions in many countries and in certain social groups and strata. This applies even to some of the socialist countries. Even though as a consequence of the revolutionary economic, political, social, cultural and ideological changes in our socialist society

the influence of religion markedly declined in all social groups and strata, this ideology is still holding a certain base and affecting certain groups of the working people as well as a part of the young generation.

#### An Overestimation?

Therefore, the struggle against religion holds one of the most important positions in the contemporary battle of ideas and numerous party documents were right to point out its meaningful aspects in forming the communist persuasion of the working people and youth. Sometimes, however, we have heard objections, such as: Has not the ideological fight against religion been exaggerated out of proportion? Would it not be better perhaps to ignore religious problems and wait until indifference spontaneously prevails and the churches become gradually empty? When fighting religion are we not in effect committing errors harmful to the building of socialism, because most of the believers are actively supporting our constructive efforts with their work and also, many priests have expressed their positive attitudes to our socialist homeland by their civic positions and by their activity in the peace movement, etc.

These and similar questions are a proof of the confusion or outright misunderstanding of the attitude of Marxism-Leninism, the communist movement and socialist society toward religion and churches, or as the case may be, to believers. Between their lines one may relatively easily discern that those who are posing such questions have interpreted the negative attitude of Marxism-Leninism to religion as an expression of a subjectively motivated bias and intolerance, as a voluntaristically motivated effort to come into conflict with the believers and their views, to irritate their religious feelings, etc. In other words: the Marxists and communists could assume a positive attitude to religion, but they do not want to respect religion as a positive social and cultural value, preferring instead to seek confrontation with religion, looking at any price for deficiencies or transgressions in it, and contriving reasons for its rejection.

That exactly is the basis of the profound misunderstanding of the Marxist assessment of religion and of the Marxist negative attitude to religion. Marxism-Leninism does not oppose religion just because it cannot or does not want to tolerate any other views, because of some kind of a priori prejudice against religious faith, or simply because of its desire to pick up arguments and conflicts with persons of other convictions. On principle, the negative and antagonistic attitude of Marxism-Leninism toward religion is determined objectively by the fact that in its substance religion is a product of exploitation and oppression of the working people, and its main function has always been to justify the exploitation and oppression of the working people.

Marxism-Leninism does not regard religion and religious convictions as a matter of intention or desire, or as a matter of incorrect, illogical thinking, which is how the Enlightenment and free-thinkers used to interpret it, but it proceeds from objective determination of religion by social-economic conditions in which faith in God, belief in the afterlife, etc., developed as result of the fact that the working people could not harbor any other hopes in their situation than the hopes offered to them by religious fantasies and illusory religious promises of salvation in heaven, if they would patiently endure their joyless lot in this earthly life. V.I. Lenin wrote: "It would be a sign of bourgeois narrowmindedness if we forget that religious oppression weighing upon the mankind is nothing but a product and reflection of the economic oppression within society." Antagonism and an irreconcilable conflict between religion and the scientific view of the world are not determined subjectively, although they also appear as a conflict of two convictions, i.e., in the subjective area. They stem from completely different objective conditions in which religion originated and in which the scientific view of the world, Marxism-Leninism, developed, and from the totally contradictory functions which both of those world views objectively played and still are playing.

#### A Reflection of Social Democratic Conditions

The fact that religion and Marxism-Leninism are stressing completely antagonistic aspects and factors as their views of the world is not at all determined primarily by the will, wish and desires of the believers on the one hand, and of the Marxists on the other hand; it was determined by the social economic conditions which reflect the religious and Marxist views of the world, and socially, objectively determined by the function which they are called to play. For example, the fact that religion stresses the superiority of all things spiritual and inferiority of all thing material, while Marxism stresses the material unity of the world, does not depend at all on the wishes or desires of the believers or of the Marxist atheists. It reflects most of all and primarily the fact that religion developed and lived as a spiritual product of societies with antagonistic classes, where the exploiting classes needed to justify their position as privileged classes before the exploited masses, where slave labor was deprived of any vital force and humane characteristics. The Marxist view of the world, on the other hand, was formed and is still being formed as an ideological weapon of the revolutionary proletariat which, united with other working people, is fighting to abolish the division of society into classes, to remove all barriers which divided the people in exploiting systems, and to overcome the antagonism between physical and mental work, by which also the alienation of labor will be overcome. Furthermore, the fact that religion is emphasizing an irrational faith in the supernatural, while Marxism is stressing a rational explanation of all phenomena as phenomena which are natural and accessible to human knowledge, does not imply at all that the believers are

the only ones who possess some special sense of mystery and intuitive insight in the enigma of existence, while Marxists allegedly wish to encompass the whole reality onesidedly, by means of reason only. That is connected most of all with the fact that the main purpose of religion was to mystify social reality and to obfuscate the substance of social processes, while Marxism-Leninism as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat interested in a radical reconstruction of the world is progressing according to the law of nature toward the true knowledge of the substance of social processes as the first necessary precondition of influencing and transforming them purposefully.

From what was said above it follows that the Marxist criticism of religion and the struggle against religious ideology and its vestiges in the people's minds have nothing in common with the self-serving negation of religious ideas and views and with a self-serving irritation of religious feelings of the honest and upright working people. We deeply respect such people, we appreciate their contribution to the building of the socialist society, which is based on their work for the prosperity of our socialist country, and we reject on principle such criticism of their religious ideas and views as would humiliate or insult their religious convictions. However, that attitude toward the believers cannot lead conversely to any unprincipled toleration of the non-scientific religious view of the world, to unprincipled compromises with religious ideology and to clearing the field to its influence. This applies so much more so because despite all its efforts to adjust to the conditions of modern society and to the conditions of life in socialism, religion has preserved its unscientific, reactionary substance, and even today it is exploited to a considerable extent and purposefully against the interests of the working people, against socialism. Manipulation of the believers by means of their religious feelings is still an important part of the plans of contemporary anti-communism, and as such, it has become a political factor; to ignore it would be reprehensibly reckless from the point of view of protection of the interests of socialism and progress.

9004

CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### PRESENT ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS OUTLINED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 9, Aug 77 pp 42-48

[Article by Jan Giertl: "Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement at the Present Stage"]

[Text] As the 15th CPCZ Congress stressed, the current stage in building a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia is a stage increasingly demanding an efficient and competent fulfillment of social tasks. In that context there is a growing role of the subjective factor of mass awareness. The most important social organization of the National Front is the trade union. In the report presented by the CPCZ Central Committee at its 15th Congress the party praised the active support which the trade union rendered to its policy and thus significantly contributed to the achievement of good economic results and development of socialist attitudes among the people. With the increasing social tasks in the process of building a developed socialist society the leading role and position of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia have grown and intensified. At the same time, the position of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement is gaining strength and its role is growing.

In its report the 15th CPCZ Congress mentioned with appreciation that since the 14th party congress the trade unions have further developed their activity in accordance with their mission and duties. The future demanding tasks, of which V.I. Lenin spoke and which are to be fulfilled by trade unions in the long-term perspective, demand already at present that trade unions do not stagnate in their theory, but that on the basis of practical experience trade unions in their mission and tasks develop social-economic, social-political, ideological and cultural-educational relations. It is unavoidable to understand the above and other relations in the theory of trade unions in unity with the theory of the communist party and in the entire context of the Marxist-Leninist teachings. Proceeding from the analysis of controversies inherent in the period of transition from capitalism to communism, V.I. Lenin worked out his theory of trade unions, hitherto

never surpassed by anyone, in which he specified the character and the role of that organization. He stressed repeatedly in his works: "It is not a state organization; it is not a coercive organization; it is a training organization, an organization to involve the masses--an educational organization; it is a school, a school of management, a school of economy, a school of communism..."<sup>1</sup>

The 9th All Trade-Union Congress of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement adopted this theory in its decision where in the fourth part it applied it to the current situation as follows: "The present stage of building a developed socialist society requires that the main Leninist mission of the trade unions develop to its fullest extent--that it become a daily practical school of socialism and communism for millions of the working people. That means that on the basis of the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress it must participate in all of its activity more efficiently and comprehensively in thorough education of the working people."

The Leninist interpretation of trade unions and their position in socialism means, therefore, their recognition as a "school of socialism and communism." This Leninist approach also implies the main social task of the Czechoslovak trade unions. The school of socialism and communism does not simply carry on its previous role which it played during the bourgeois period, but it involves a new, higher and more responsible role with new, considerably broader contents.

In the period of transition from capitalism to communism Lenin assigned the trade unions their main task to become a "school of socialism and communism." In his analysis of contradictions inherent in that transitional period, V.I. Lenin proved that they might be overcome if the task is solved, if the masses reach a level at which they will be capable of governing. "...Socialism may be developed and established only when the working class learns how to govern, when the authority of the working classes is consolidated. Without that socialism remains but a pious desire."<sup>2</sup>

The working class may advance to participate in the management of production and administration only after a revolutionary liquidation of capitalist relations of production. Conversely, socialism may develop and advance only in accordance with the increasing participation of the working people in the management and administration. Lenin followed up the task of teaching the masses how to govern in his "Draft of Theses on the Mission and Tasks of Trade Unions in the New Economic Policy." He summed it up as follows: "...To learn how to govern. The point of gravity. Not general or high politics (for that we have the communist party and the Soviet power) but practical, objective work of teaching the masses how to govern."<sup>3</sup>



Challenging Trotsky's and Bukharin's non-Marxist views V.I. Lenin characterized trade associations as follows: "It is not a school and management, but a school of management."<sup>4</sup> In his further conclusions in which Lenin articulated the work of trade unions he put in the forefront also the fulfillment of the task stemming from the unusual type of a school with a special constitution. Several times in his works he specified the character of the school in which he was concerned as "...without teachers and without students,"<sup>5</sup> but with masses working and struggling for a better life. He explains the peculiar character of trade unions as a school of pointing out that it does not involve training and learning from books and newspapers, from speeches and pamphlets, but practical training by experience in the economic and development of society with the working people directly participating in the administration. By its contents the school of life and practical experience reflects a system of various factors dialectically merged in the function of a school which in the era of a developed socialist society is performed by trade unions.

At the 14th congress of the Soviet trade unions L.I. Brezhnev, proceeding from the conclusions articulated by Lenin, stressed that at the present stage of building a socialist society trade unions must fulfill a two-fold task: "Precisely two-fold, because the growth and improvement of quality of economy provide a straight and dependable road to improved living conditions of the working man, his family and all citizens."<sup>6</sup>

As Lenin pointed out, in the first stage of the building of communism the mission and activity of trade unions are derived from the position of the working class in the system of production in a given stage of society and from the historical tasks which the working class must fulfill in order to achieve its final victory--victory and liberation for itself and for all the working people.

The contents of trade unions' activity in Czechoslovakia duly stem from the tasks and objectives stipulated by the society's leading force, the communist party, in its long-term programs in the area of economic, social, ideological, cultural and foreign policies. As confirmed by the experience to date in building of socialism in Czechoslovakia, these aims and tasks correspond with that class' historical mission carried out in the interest of the international communist movement and of the working people all over the world.

By their specific character the trade unions in their activity follow the function which in the given stage of the development of socialist society is carried out by the leading forces--the communist party and the state. At the same time, they are not imitating them, nor are they trying to claim that they speak for the leading force and state (for example, articulating the society-wide goals, ideological and cadre problems, managing production, society and defense of the state), which is not in their competence.

By their own methods, forms and activity the trade unions only help organize and lead the broad masses of their members and other working people toward the fulfillment of society-wide goals.

Specific forms in the trade union activity are further determined by the level of development in the system of production and production forces. In the period of building a developed socialist society that dialectic relation determines the variety of forms by which the working people in a socialist society fulfill, through their trade unions, the historical interest of the working class as the leading class of society led by the communist party.

By organizing and participating in the management, administration and control, the trade unions which are called to fulfill the task of a school of socialism and communism are transforming the most important force of production--man. They foster in him skills to manage the means of production in order to reach the highest degree of efficiency and quality in gaining society-wide resources. In a dialectic unity of that process trade unions are teaching ethical and cultural manners and educating the working people in the Marxist-Leninist view of the world. In their works Soviet authors state that in that sense trade unions are a "school" not in a figurative sense, as it may seem at first glance, but by a scientific definition which aptly characterizes the very substance of their activity.

Trade unions act as a school in the production and in daily life. The relation and extensive participation of the working people in the management of processes connected with production and life of the working people take place in that area. The level and degree of political and labor activity are new, democratic factors typical only for socialism. Trade unions therefore are fulfilling their function as a school of socialism and communism by means of social and labor activities.

In his address to the Slovak Congress of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Presidium and first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, stressed among other things: "We are convinced that precisely the trade unions, the largest organization of the working people, as good economists and the real rulers of our country are called to endeavor in a meaningful way that all the working people reach correct conclusions from what is new."<sup>7</sup>

The system of production under socialism, therefore, provides a basis for, and makes possible, the widest participation of the working people in the management of production; the function of the unions as a "school" also stems from that fact. The main effect of socialization of the means of production and the transfer of ownership appears in the involvement of the forces of the society-wide working people's unification in the production and economy. That means a conscious control in the entire society; as

K. Marx said, that means "... a higher type of social organization of labor ... that is the heart of the matter. That is the source of power and of the unavoidable, complete victory of communism."<sup>8</sup>

The relation of joint ownership as a dialectic relation which the working people achieved by liberating themselves from capitalism and by installing the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., a new type of state, created the inalienable condition and right to participate in joint decision-making not only by means of exerting work force but also by creating and using social funds and resources, as the socialist society does in the given stage of building of a developed socialist society.

That relation, among other things, is apparent from the fact that as regards the fruits of labor, earned either in the form of monetary rewards or in social division of funds, the working people cannot be indifferent about the amount of the funds created, their utility value and the price of finished products. The active role of trade unions therefore does not involve only protection of working conditions for the labor force or mediation of interests of various social groups of the working people (as the right wing claimed during the period of crisis in Czechoslovakia) but a thorough development of all aspects in the satisfaction of interests and needs on the part of the individuals as well as the socialist society. As concerns trade unions, the report presented at the 15th CPCZ Congress stressed: "Trade unions must lead their members toward responsible work of high quality and see to it that socialist principles of reward are thoroughly applied. Their task is to fight vigorously for the interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people, to participate in creating an atmosphere of challenge, implacability with shortcomings and intensification of state, labor and technological discipline. They share responsibility for the further improvement of all kinds of care for the working people and for the improvement of the working and living environment."<sup>9</sup>

Thus, trade unions share responsibility for the development of our national economy and society. Only such understanding of the trade union activity and in that activity, the broad participation by the working people in management, administration and control corresponds with the Leninist interpretation of socialism and also answers the question frequently posed by various revisionists: "What is supposed to be the purpose of trade unions, whose interests are they supposed to protect, and against whom?"

The subject of the process of production--man--cannot stand in production merely as isolated work force but must be a participant in the system of production which puts into practice the socialist division of labor, whose long-term process follows the trend of development from the old type of division of labor to the new, communist division of labor. In that framework the working people are really participating in the management of production, administration and control, and that also is the basis of the economic-political aspect of the function of trade unions as a school of socialism and communism.

The management of social processes therefore involves political and professional control of natural and social processes in the interest of the majority of people, as well as political and professional control of the working people's activities and interests. The political and professional character of the activity of trade unions is dialectically related to politics and economy which represent two interconnected, correlated aspects of the management of society which also affect the contents of the activity of trade unions. In the essay "Once More About Trade Union Associations," whereby V.I. Lenin refuted Bukharin's and Trotsky's eclecticism, he said: "Trotsky and Bukharin present the situation as if they were concerned with the growth of production and we but with formal democracy. That interpretation is wrong because the problem is (and in Marxist sense it could not be otherwise) only as follows: a certain class cannot retain its rule without a correct political attitude to the situation and thus, it cannot solve even its own tasks of production."<sup>10</sup>

To prevent the activity of trade unions from getting bogged down in formalism and opportunism, its contents and forms must comply with the historical task of the working class. In the activity of trade unions the political aspect is not detached from the economic aspect, it is implemented in harmony with it and promotes the fulfillment of tasks outlined by the leading force--the communist party.

The gist of the activity of trade unions after the 15th CPCZ Congress are the tasks outlined by the communist party in the area of the economic, social and cultural development, and peacemaking tasks. In those areas trade unions have the duty to promote all aspects of the function of the school of socialism and communism in dialectical unity and balance, to develop the social and working activity of their members and to involve all the working people in the engaged, conscious and efficient work of building a developed socialist society. By the development of social and working activities and their forms trade unions are linking the economic aspect of their activity with the ideological-educational and cultural aspects, with the aspects of protection and representation, with the enforcement of proletarian and socialist internationalism. Their whole activity is determined by the main objective of the economic, social and foreign policies of the party and state.

Some of the basic forms of the social and working activity are membership meetings, conferences, the work of all elected and auxiliary organs, consultations on production, BSP [expansion unknown], comprehensive rationalization brigades, all types of socialist competition, improvement and invention programs, reliable forms of scientific technological creativity of the working people, collective contracts, participation in social planning, introduction of Soviet methods and forms of labor, etc.

Decisions of the communist party concerning economic, social, cultural and international problems have become an obligatory guide for trade unions and for the communists active in trade unions.

The Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement in Czechoslovakia as the largest social organization of the working class and other working people is closely collaborating with the organs of the socialist state. By their involvement as a "school of socialism and communism" trade unions are helping the state fulfill the economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions; they consolidate and intensify its power in every respect by uniting and involving all the working people in the fulfillment of economic and social tasks.

So as to fulfill comprehensively and in a balanced way the contents of the "school of socialism and communism" in the activity of trade unions, in the period of building of a developed socialist society the trade unions, through their organs and organizations, are pursuing:

- daily work of political organization aimed at an increased political and working involvement of all members, under the leadership of the CPCZ:
- they are striving to accomplish the planned tasks with the greatest efficiency and best quality in creating working and living conditions and in protecting and safeguarding the health of the working people;
- they are organizing public opinion as a source of new, progressive tools of the working people's education and re-education and as a way to preventing and correcting shortcomings;
- they are protecting and representing the working people's legitimate and legal interests related to the needs and interests of the entire society; they openly stand up against all those who violate and abuse them;
- they are educating all working people in proletarian and socialist internationalism, fostering in them attitudes of socialist patriotism.

The two-fold task of socialist trade unions--the concern in the development of economy and the growth of production, and in unity with it, the concern in the protection of the working people's rights and interests and in their working and living conditions--was further accentuated by the decision of the 9th All Trade-Union Congress of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement. As the 9th All-Union Congress stressed, the results of the activity of trade unions are indisputably following a growing trend whether it concerns the general position or the authority of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement. Most convincingly speaks the fact that in the period between the 8th and 9th All-Union Congresses, the membership increased by one million and that all important political and social decisions were made with the cooperation of the trade unions.

In the activity and in every function of trade unions in Czechoslovakia it remains an obligation to implement further these basic aspects in dialectic unity and balance.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin, "Spisy" [Collected Works], v. 32, SVPL [State Publishing House of Political Literature], Bratislava 1955, p. 12.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Spisy," v. 28, SVPL 1954, p. 123.
3. V. I. Lenin "Nove dokumenty" [New Documents] (1917-1923), SVPL 1962, p. 272.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Spisy" v. 32, SVPL 1955, p. 84.
5. Ibid., p. 12.
6. Daily PRACA, 22 March 1977, p. 3.
7. Daily PRACA, 6 April 1977, p. 3.
8. K. Marx, "Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Okonomie" [Summary of the Critique of Political Economy] Berlin 1953, p. 438.
9. 15th CPCZ Congress, "Dokumenty a materialy" [Documents and Materials], PRAVDA Publishing House 1976, p. 38.
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#### APPLICATION OF CRIMINAL LAW DISCUSSED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 31 No 17, Nov 77 pp 574-578

[Excerpts from lecture given by Dr Josef Streit, GDR prosecutor general, on 6 Sep 77 at Friedrich Schilller University, Jena: "On the Creative Application of Criminal Law in the Socialist Society"]

[Text] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were the first to have recognized that crime is historically conditioned, and to prove that it is a phenomenon produced by, and characteristic of, the antagonistic society. They deduced from that that crime would gradually be contained through the socialist organization of society and socialist production. In contrast to the steady increase in crime in the bastions of capitalism, one finds a constant decrease of crime in the socialist states, bringing with it an almost complete eradication of the most dangerous forms of crime.

While crime as such has thus shown a development in our country that has altogether gone in a positive direction, fighting against it purposefully has yet not become superfluous. In years to come it will be more important than ever further to develop the results achieved and to make still more effective the working people's participation in crime fighting. The emphasis will have to lie here on crime prevention and on eliminating the causes and conditions favoring criminal acts. The fight against crime is thus shifting to its perimeter, and we are bringing to realization the truly humanistic thought of Karl Marx saying "a wise law maker will prevent crime so as not to have to punish it."<sup>1</sup>

Sound conditions have become ripe for realizing this lofty goal. They include the cultural upswing of our society, the steady perfecting of the social relations, the ever more strongly prevailing principles of socialist ethics and legality and, above all, the profound change in the consciousness of the working people. All that also forms a decisive foundation for the citizens' growing readiness to challenge, actively and with imagination, any still surviving negative manifestations.

Despite such a positive development we must not close our mind to the fact that we still will have to deal with crimes for some time to come. Under such conditions, great importance attaches to socialist criminal law which, in contradistinction to the exploiter society, is however of a constructive character.

## On the Bourgeois Theory of Justice

In studying history one will find that punishment for crimes has time and again been subject to fierce debate, which is still going on today. The reason for that is that in matters of penalties and their individual application opposing views are in conflict concerning man and his position in society, and diametrically opposed value concepts about the state and about law, about morality and justice, and about the nature of crime and how to fight against it. Thus it is no coincidence that the very essence of the administration of justice has always been deliberately obscured by the ruling exploiter classes in order to prevent the exploited from getting into the inside of criminal punishment, thereby shielding it against all public criticism. In this sense the bourgeois theory of justice has contributed to obfuscating, rather than clarifying, the nature of justice. The position taken by bourgeois jurists on the nature of justice in the final analysis is an expression of their class interest which, among other things, consists in keeping neuralgic processes in the dark, in order to help enforce thereby all the more reliably exploiter class policy. That became all the more necessary, the more clearly the penalties levied by class justice found itself in contradiction to bourgeois human and civic rights and that was unmasked, particularly, by the rising workers class. Disguising the nature of bourgeois class justice was necessary to make it appear unerring and inviolable and to screen it reliably in ideological terms.

This is not the place to deal with the various theories in detail. Hegel's concepts on the theory of justice, however, deserve to be mentioned.

In his "Metaphysics of Morals," Immanuel Kant had espoused a "pure and strict justice."<sup>2</sup> He was a proponent of the old Biblical "jus talionis," the law of retribution in the sense of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and blood for blood, as a general guideline for determining the severity of a sentence: "So that everybody receive what his deeds deserve."<sup>3</sup>

Hegel raised this idea of "desert" to its highest pitch by means of his objective-idealistic dialectic. Seeking a point of reference, a criterion for determining the adequacy of crime and punishment, that is, a qualitative concept mediating between crime and punishment permitting various degrees of quantitative differentiation, Hegel found this "identity" between crime and punishment "not in the specific, but in the implicit character of the crimes, in respect of their value."<sup>4</sup>

This focus on the value concept as mediating term between crime and punishment and as the point of departure for determining the degree of the penalty to be imposed expresses in the most abstract manner the factual economic status of the private proprietors and their ideological self-awareness as the producers of, or the traders in, commodities.

Hegel's doctrine is based on the premise that the state trades the punishment for the criminal's crime. Hegel respects the criminal here as a subject



capable of self-determination insofar as he grants to him, not only that he committed his crime "voluntarily," on his own resolve, but does so even with the understanding of the penalty he would have to pay for it as the price-tag for his criminal act.

Thus, to Hegel, the criminal and the state appear as trading partners in goods--crime against punishment--with the insinuation that this is based on a principle of law. So he thought the severity of a penalty should have to be gaged against the "value" of a criminal act. And so he turned the "value" of the law violation and the injury inflicted on the criminal, that is, the penalty, into a universally valid criterion, and then he attributed to it the highest objectivity and justice.

Regarding the Prussian state as the embodiment of the absolute idea for giving birth to supreme justice, Hegel failed to see that the state and the criminal do not relate to each other as equal partners in negotiations and contracts.

Hegel's philosophy of right can be summarized by quoting Karl Marx, who said: "Punishment is the right of the criminal. It is an act of his own will. The criminal claims the violation of law as his right. His crime is the negation of law. Punishment is the negation of that negation and thus, a confirmation of the law, which the criminal has challenged and imposed upon himself."<sup>5</sup>

Neither Kant nor Hegel wanted to regard the criminal as a mere object. Hegel appears to raise him onto the level of a free being with self-determination. Appearances are deceptive, however. Looking at it more carefully, one will find German idealism sanctioning--as in many other cases--merely the laws of existing society, for the purpose of which, in order to disguise it, it cloaks itself in metaphysics. Plainly, it is purely fictitious to substitute for the individual with his real motivations and many social difficulties some abstraction of "free will," to make one of many human characteristics take the place of man himself. Failing to see into the heart of the capitalist order, Hegel evidently was alarmed by its reality. The capitalist state cannot exist without the axe, the penitentiary, the prison. And so, they have to be justified, be it by the "abstraction of the free will." Hegel escaped from reality into idealism. He designed vacuous constructs which--he thought--would supply even an institution like punishment with an orientation.

Karl Marx concluded his analysis of Hegel's philosophy of right by the following words: "This theory, which regards the punishment as the outcome of the criminal's own free will, is merely a metaphysical paraphrase of the old 'jus talionis': an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, blood for blood."<sup>6</sup>

All this groping for objectivity and universal justice, with its idealistic trimmings, was thrown overboard as early as in the second half of the 19th century by capitalist Germany's system of jurisprudence so as to make room for a public sentiment about justice. The new criminal statutes of the FRG

testify to that. The "principles on the degrees of punishment" explicitly include sentiment, together with "motivation" and "will," among the circumstances to be taken into account. Greatest caution also is called for regarding the definition of offense in the penal code of the FRG, since everything depends on what is meant by an offense. In contrast to the penal code of the GDR, no clear legal definitions of guilt can be found in the FRG penal code. In teaching too, the matters of what being guilty means are more and more being wrapped in mystical clouds. The forms of culpability in vogue in the FRG nowadays--for example, "guilt is what a judge accuses an offender of"--ultimately keep a sharp eye on the sentiment of the offender.

Indulging such concepts of guilt, which can meet no test because they do not relate to reality, they have a concept of making the "punishment fit the crime" that amounts to a fig leaf behind which class justice can do anything it likes. Today even jurists in the FRG have to admit that "in spite of all efforts toward rationalizing and systematizing the grounds for standards in sentencing, sentences as levied still remain only considered judgments with all the imponderables of personal decisions because they can ultimately not be tested in terms of their justice."<sup>7</sup>

#### State and Society in their Effects on the Offender

As all other fundamental matters so also the issue of punishment and the individual nature in which it is levied can only be resolved, theoretically as well as practically, in socialist society. That required the following prerequisites:

- (1) The construction of a socialist state, in which a new social foundation could be laid for a just individuation of punishment.
- (2) The triumph of Marxism-Leninism over all previous philosophical systems with its entry into the philosophy of justice. Now, based on Marxist-Leninist theory, it became possible to establish the foundations for an administration of justice that would make socialist justice prevail.
- (3) The enforcement of the leadership role of the working class party as a guarantee for educating a new generation of judges and prosecutors that has nothing any longer in common with the old concept of justice blindfolded and has crossed the bourgeois horizon of legality.

In contrast to capitalist society, where the offender becomes stigmatized, and declassé, through his penalty, the socialist society observes the principle that the offender can also be brought, through education, to maintain responsible conduct in his public and personal life. From that vantage point, the socialist state has created the conditions that make it possible for an offender to become again a regular and recognized member of society.

In socialist society not only does the state pronounce a legal sentence on a criminal but at the same time also, more and more, a social-moral sentence on the crime, or on the criminal on account of his crime. Therein lies an essential basis for state and society bringing a coordinated effect to bear on the criminal. Capitalist society has no prerequisites for this at all.

To the extent that the state's manner of legal sentencing is also, increasingly, borne by society and any criminal has to endure the moral-social conviction under which he is in his immediate environment, his collective, the social content of punishment also changes in a progressive direction and assumes a new quality. This development is a complicated process affected by various elements. Essential for it is the steady further development of socialist statehood in the sense of a developing socialist democracy, which is marked by the increasing readiness of the citizens to take part actively and with a high sense of responsibility in all that concerns the state and society.

In view of all this it has become a categorical need for socialist criminal justice to work still more closely together with the social forces and fully coordinate its activities with social activities. And the important thing here is to involve the work collectives still more in legal proceedings, the administration of justice and the social education. The political task of educating the masses and learning from the masses thus also becomes of first-rate importance to criminal justice.

Such an objective wholly conforms to our party program, in which the demand is made that the activities of the justice and security organs be still more closely tied to the social activities pertaining to the enforcement of socialist legality.

In order to realize that goal, a creative application of our criminal law becomes an indispensable requirement. Doing full justice to this requirement presupposes a dialectical view on all factors and relations pertaining to the criminal act and the criminal and the conditions for his social rehabilitation. Such a dialectical view is the most essential prerequisite for passing well-balanced measures, imbued with high responsibility, in criminal law.

The individuation of punishment is a priority task of socialist humanism. This involves those convictions that serve the rehabilitation of the offender as well as the protection of the state and its citizens.

#### Causes and Prevention of Crime

Bourgeois scientists and their predecessors have claimed, time and again, man is evil by nature and will always commit crimes. Recently, for instance, the psychoanalyst A. Mitscherlich in the FRG came out with the anti-human claim that the aggressive drive is innate in man, existing irrespective of the development of mankind.<sup>8</sup> If such and similar hypotheses contained even a kernel of truth, we Marxists would be hopeless utopians, and there would be nothing but wishful thinking to the demand raised by our party to turn everywhere in the daily life of society the observance of socialist law and conscious discipline into human habits.

As Marxists, however, we proceed from the conviction that man is neither "good" nor "evil" by nature but a social being, that a human being is "the ensemble of social relationships."<sup>9</sup> Therein--as everywhere else in the social theory of dialectic materialism--lies the key for understanding why men will accept or ignore the norms set down by any given ruling class.

As long as the private ownership in the means of production, exploitation and anguish over their livelihood govern people's actions, crime remains elemental and inevitable. Friedrich Engels has said that the exploiter society "leads the individual into enmity against all other individuals, producing a social war of all against all, which of necessity will assume in some a brutal, barbarian and violent form--the form of crime."<sup>10</sup> How apt this is can be seen by the ever rising crime rate in the bastions of capitalism. Today even bourgeois scientists are compelled to admit that the constant violation of human rights in the capitalist states--such as the right to work and to education--has a lot to do with the development of crime.

Things are completely different in socialist society, where the socio-economic basis for crime has been eliminated. In the struggle for a new, socialist order, the seemingly endless fall of man into original sin was also brought to a halt by the triumphant working class. The working people were freed from exploitation and suppression; human relationships became humanized. In socialist society no one need to become a criminal. Inasmuch as the socialist state must, however, hold responsible those that have infringed the rules of social community and violated the criminal laws, the criminal act and the personality of the offender and the motives and circumstances underlying the criminal act are being explored fundamentally and thoroughly, as are the ways in which a criminal can most effectively be rehabilitated in society.

The Ninth SED Congress has made us understand that the further shaping of the developed socialist society pursues the goal of ever more clearly molding the criteria and characteristics of socialist society so that thereby fundamental preconditions are laid for the gradual transition to communism.

While in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism considerable social efforts had to be concentrated on surmounting the vestiges of the capitalist system, in the years to come all efforts will be directed at making the advantages of socialism effective all around. Therein no doubt lies the main force as well as the chief means for further reducing crimes, and each step ahead can be taken only by means of comprehensive social activities. That of necessity calls for a higher grade activity still by the justice and security organs. It calls for new ways for the prevention of crime and for helping citizens who have committed crimes to adopt responsible conduct, while use is made all around of the advantages inherent in socialist society. Political perspicacity and understanding are vitally needed for coping with those two tasks--which ultimately form a unity.

## Administration of Justice Requires Discriminating Measures

Intense discussions have been going on in the GDR in recent years concerning the discrimination and individuation in judicial sentencing. Some crimes, one found, are attributable to hostile influences; there are still persons who are serving the class enemy. Western mass media and politicians are interpreting this situation by saying the citizens in our state are forbidden to express their political views. That is a deliberate distortion of the facts, for no one in the GDR is prosecuted for his opinion. We do frankly admit that agitation, violence and other assaults against our state and its order, its organs and institutions are not tolerated here. Such acts are violations directed against our constitution and our laws. We have the duty to defend our socialist achievements and values by the judicial means available to us. In all such cases we will continue to react by imposing the appropriate penalties. When we are compelled to pronounce prison sentences we are forced to do so by the ways in which our enemies fight us, who unceasingly want to harm us. Prison sentences are indispensable in case of serious attacks against serious property and other serious crimes. Yet prison sentences themselves are still governed by the humanism of our socialist society.

What are we doing, however, with regard to most offenders who are committing petty theft, bodily injuries and less serious crimes? The damage done is not so great in these cases, but they still disturb the citizens' social relationships and burden their community life.

In cases like these, the question of the most effective juridical measures is a most topical question today. The first point that must be made here is that we Marxists have never regarded punishment as a cure-all in the struggle against crimes. Yet we still cannot do without it as long as there are citizens who fail to abide by the criminal laws voluntarily. Punishment still is necessary for the protection of the socialist state and legal order and for educating the offenders. That is our unequivocal position. Thoughts of retribution or revenge are alien to our criminal law and our socialist policy of justice.

For determining an individualized and well-balanced penalty one must always keep in mind, however, that every act of crime, seen in relation to the totality of its circumstances, is unique, incomparable to any other. It must also be considered that the penalty has to be individualized because the personality of the offender on whom a sentence is pronounced has individual features himself. Taking the personality of the offender into account all around is of great importance, not only for pronouncing a well-considered sentence but also for the way in which the penalty is carried out, for this is a matter for determining the most effective way all the time in which, based on the laws in force, we can construct a concrete, preventative social program for maximizing the rehabilitation of offenders.

In this context some detail also is called for about the role of the investigative organs, the state attorney and the social forces involved in

court cases. The activities by those participants in finding a well-considered, individualized sentence, it seems to me, have a considerable place value. They are the ones who are making a considerable contribution to disclosing the circumstances explaining the crime. They also are the ones that will investigate and submit to the court the individual particulars and characteristic features of the accused, his way of living in the past and present, the incidents and motives that led to the crime, his attitude at work and his social attitudes and activities. For pronouncing a sentence, the court of course is independent. Yet to the extent that the new political and social nature of justice emerges, even the court--without prejudice to its responsibility for the sentence--is necessarily compelled to make the highest demands on finding the truth in the investigative process and on the society's participation in it.

In this sense then it is not only the general struggle against crime that has become a social task, but court proceedings themselves have increasingly become a concern of society. When the essential features of punishment in socialist society are being discussed today, the relationship between justice and the offender must not be ignored. That relationship--embedded in overall social relations--is of enormous importance. Whereas the relationship between justice and the offender in the capitalist society is dictated by the antagonism of that society, in socialist society that relationship is of a non-antagonistic nature. Serious crime against the state is the only exception here. The fact that the socialist state maintains a non-antagonistic relationship with the overwhelming mass of criminals is an essential element of the basis that offers realistic opportunities for rehabilitation and genuine prospects to the offender.

In the process of bringing these prospects to realization, three essential elements are of outstanding importance:

First there must be the offender's honest intention to prove himself and to make amends for the damage he has committed. This decision of intent on the part of the offender is affected and favored by the socialist society's attitude toward the offender. It amounts to having him--provided he is of good will--recognized again as a regular member of society, not treated as an outsider.

Second there is the socialist quality of education during the time that the sentence is in effect, the various elements of which--this also fully applies to the administration of justice--are never of a discriminatory nature. To the extent that in an individual case, caused by the attitude of the offender, certain restrictions must be introduced, they also do not amount to any discrimination. We are rightly proud that in the GDR's administration of justice not only are the appropriate UN conventions observed but in many aspects the norms assigned by these conventions are being exceeded.

And then, third, there is the participation by the broadest social circles in the rehabilitation of the criminals. Its outstanding importance lies

especially in the collective education at the place of work of the ex-convict. This basic empathy the socialist society shows the criminal is unique; it is incomparable to the so-called social service institutions and similar facilities in some capitalist states. The basic attitude the socialist state takes toward citizens who have gone astray is dictated by the care for all people, for providing a meaningful life for all citizens. To this end the justice and security organs, due to their specific governmental function, have to fulfill important tasks of organization. That presupposes much empathy with, and a clear attitude toward, the offender.

The offender too--this must never be left out of sight--is to be considered a human being and citizen, regardless of the personal guilt he has incurred through his criminal act. The socialist society brings to realization that thought by Karl Marx which says that the criminal too remains tied to his state through thousand vital nerves and the state should not frivolously exclude any of its members from these relations.

#### Tasks in the Individuation of Punishment

It is not easy to pronounce well-considered, individualized sentences. Learning how to cope with this better is a precept of our socialist humanism, which is dictated by our assuming our overall social interests and implies thereby the proper attitude vis-a-vis criminal offenders. This set of problems should be given the greatest attention by science and practice in close cooperation:

First one must make a correct and all-inclusive analysis of a criminal act. Here two aspects have to be taken into account: the objective social aspect, which brings out the damage done by the act, and the subjective individual aspect, which informs us about the kind and degree of guilt on the part of the offender. This also reveals essential aspects of the personality of the culprit.

Second, one must properly understand the relationship between the criminal act and the criminal. There are often practical difficulties in this because one must find out to what extent the criminal act was characteristic of or alien to the personality. It calls for thorough work in adequately describing the social features in the personality of the culprit. That concerns in particular his attitude toward work and social norms.

Then, third, there is the all round assessment of the offender's personality. This places the emphasis on skillfully determining his capacity and willingness for engaging in law-abiding conduct in the future with special regard to his attitude after committing his crime and his willingness to make amends.

The criteria by which the individuation of his punishment has to be determined can be derived only from the crime in question and in terms of its social determinants, for a punishment is a necessary reaction by the state to a concrete act of crime. Simultaneously, however, punishment is a legal instrument used by the socialist state for implementing the goals set down as binding in the penal code.

The grounds for the execution of sentences as contained in the GDR penal code are of great importance. They must not be looked at in isolation. Instead, the totality of these criteria must always be kept in mind. If too much is made, for example, of the material damage in crimes against property or of certain aspects of the offender's personality, practice has shown that an incorrect picture may be given of the anti-social nature or the risk to society in the criminal act altogether. We must be perfectly aware that any overemphasis of the objective factors may lead to formalism, and of the subjective factors, to subjectivism in our policy of justice.

Another question is whether our policy of justice amounts to a guideline unalterable for all times. The answer to that has to be a clear "no."

The policy of justice in the socialist state develops on the basis of the progressive construction of socialist society and the perfecting of socialist criminal law that comes with it. Our policy of justice thus is not unalterable--nor is the individuation of punishment unalterable--but develops dynamically in line with real social development and growing experiences and insights.

In this connection one must also point to the increasing role of the subjective factor in further perfecting the individuation of punishment. Judges, state prosecutors, lay judges, representatives of the collectives of the working people, defense attorneys, plaintiffs and lawyers are all involved in court cases and ultimately also in determining a well-balanced sentence. No one will deny that the sentence that is pronounced depends on the awareness, the skill and knowledge of the participants. That brings us to a salient point. For what we are seeking, after all, is not just any kind of punishment but the socially most effective punishment. But a punishment will be socially effective only if it is understood and supported by the working people, if the court ruling expresses the working people's point of view about the criminal act.

The severe interference with the rights and the life of the criminal to which a punishment amounts raises its individuation onto the rank of an exceedingly responsible decision. It presupposes for all who--in whatever form--participate in decision-making on criminals particularly broad practical experience and a knowledge of human nature, as well as a mastery of the dialectic between the general, particular and unique.

Actually, it is only in our socialist society that a word by Martin Luther has gained true importance. He said: "A jurist who is nothing but a jurist is a sad sort."

#### FOOTNOTES

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3. Ibid., p 161.
4. G. W. F. Hegel, "Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts" (Elements of the Philosophy of Right), Leipzig, 1930, p 90.
5. K. Marx, "The Death Sentence--Mr. Cobden's Pamphlet--Orders of the Bank of England," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 8, Berlin, 1960, p 507.
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7. "Strafzumessungsrecht, Allgemeiner Teil" (Execution of Sentence Law, General Part), 1967, pp 64 ff and 87 ff.
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# KISZ PARTY NOMINATIONS CRITICIZED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Nov 77 p 3

[Article by Miklos Mero: "With KISZ Nomination into the Party"]

[Text] When the 10th Congress of the MSZMP reduced the lower age limit for party membership it defined at the same time the increased role and responsibility of the KISZ [Communist Youth League] in the political and moral education of the younger generation. One of the rights our party has granted to the local KISZ organizations is that when a KISZ member applies for party membership one of his nominations may come from the meeting of the KISZ organization. This is why it is both useful and necessary to take a closer look from time to time at the way the KISZ organizations are exercising this right.

## Four Out of Five

The question deserves attention in any case because a nomination for party membership is a political act involving very serious responsibility. Under different circumstances only party members who have known the candidate for an extended period of time have the right to nominate someone for party membership. In the case at hand however, this right is exercised by collective and KISZ organizations consisting of young people the majority of whom are not party members. This involves some risk, but it is a reasonable risk. Based on the political and moral conduct of the candidate in the youth movement, the work performed there and the opinion of the KISZ organization, the party organization can make a more reliable decision about the admission of candidates. For KISZ members the right and the duty to nominate can have a great educational effect: it teaches them responsibility.

In 1976, party organizations have approved 11,000 membership applications by KISZ members. With them the number of KISZ members who are active party members reached 55,000. More than 80 percent of the 11,000 new party members (i.e., four out of five) were nominated for party membership by their own KISZ organization.

Based on the experience of the last few years we can state that, in general, the majority of the KISZ organizations perform their nominative activity well, with circumspection, great responsibility and good results. They select candidates with care, their standards are realistic and their statements are correct. This is proved by the fact that candidates nominated by the KISZ are approved for party membership almost without exception. Thus, KISZ members are nominating those comrades they find worthy of party membership, mature politically, devoted ideologically and irreproachable both morally and politically.

However, when we talk about the work of the KISZ in the formation of communists and party members, beside the generally favorable experiences, we cannot remain silent about the inadequacies arising from bad habits, one-sided views and an incorrect interpretation of the role of the youth organization. Even though the statistics cannot reflect this, immediate practical experience shows that the newly admitted young party members, 80 percent of whom were nominated by the KISZ were not all formed by the KISZ organization itself, and were not selected as a result of a conscious effort from its own ranks. Truly responsible nomination can be based only on knowledge that is the result of long acquaintance. From the few sentences comprising the nominations it is not always quite clear what kind of debate preceded their drafting or how the proposal was made in the organization.

If someone's nomination is voted on without a sense of responsibility in the organization the vote can quickly become formal. "He asked to be nominated, so let's nominate him; we have the right to, so why not do it; why should we prevent his membership in the Party; why should we stand in his way?" - one can write nice recommendations for someone with thoughts like these that are left unsaid. But this is not what the party needs: it needs a decision by the KISZ organization made in creative debate and guided by a sense of collective responsibility whether to propose someone for party membership or not.

#### With Principled Direction and Independence

On the other side of the coin there are examples of the opposite error with the KISZ meeting applying standards that are substantially higher than those the party itself applies to its new members.

To act right then and there against both the excessively liberal and the excessively rigorous standards and to help in forming correct value judgments free from all extremes is primarily the duty of those who are present and participating in the work of the meeting in their double capacity as party members and members of the KISZ organization. The goal that is becoming reality today is to have young, newly admitted party members remain active as KISZ members and continue participating in their activity of their KISZ organization and thereby fulfill their party assignment.

It is true that the KISZ is the youth organization of the party and the party organizations are responsible for its actions and in most places they are directing the work of the youth organization responsibly. But it is mistaken to assume that every action of the youth organization is determined by party directives.

Sometimes party organizations are overstepping the limits of ideological and political leadership and become excessively patronizing towards KISZ organizations and then they in turn lose their independence and sense of responsibility and their function of nominating party members suffers as a result. It is their very important job to judge independently and realistically if their young comrade is worthy of party membership on the basis of his conduct and work in the youth movement. They are the ones who can see most directly whether the person in question is attracted to the party out of sincere conviction or by the mistaken (and in general groundless) expectation of some later advantages. Similarly, the party is relying on the youth organization in its effect to select and admit into the party those young people who meet the standards for party membership in every way but are not applying out of excessive modesty (there exist people like that).

Only KISZ organizations working under ideological and political leadership of the party organizations but acting independently, decisively and responsibly are capable of selecting future party members for nominations with a firm hand.

In some places of work there is a need to pay more attention to the building of the party and particularly to strengthening the nominating function of the KISZ. We have in mind those industrial and agricultural establishments which employ large numbers of young physical workers, especially young skilled workers but to not nominate them in sufficient numbers for party membership. It is obvious that the primary source of new and youth strength for our party is in the working class. Naturally this does not imply any rigid statistical categories. For example there is a great need and opportunity to nominate more young engineering professionals and physicians.

Another problem is that in many places the leaders of KISZ organizations are almost the only ones asking for application forms for party membership and other KISZ members do so a lot less often. It would be unjust if only the political leaders would be considered (by us or by themselves) worthy of party membership. Experience shows that it is primarily the KISZ organizations in factories and in places of work that have room for improvement in this regard.

In the past year there were many young KISZ members nominated for party membership by their organization who, despite their youth have not completed their primary education. In this case the correct decision of the party organization is to set completion of school as the primary party assignment. But it is even better for the KISZ organization to see that its members study and improve themselves. Only a completed primary education can ensure the level of culture that can serve as a foundation for wider political and ideological knowledge that the party has a right to expect today from all of its members and especially the new and the young ones.

## HUNGARY

### CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS EXAMINED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 4, 7, 9, 11 Sep 77

[Article by t. p.: "Concerning Relations Between State and Churches"]

[4 Sep 77, p 9]

[Text] I. Moves Toward Cooperation

One of the most significant achievements of the alliance policy, the foundation for the internal cohesion and strength of Hungarian society, has been attained in the reassuring settlement of state and church relations, in the cooperation of Marxist and religious citizens. The Western journalists who participated in the Sixth Congress of the Patriotic People's Front in the fall of 1976 could witness a scene which was unique of its type. They could see that Janos Kadar and the other leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party were sitting at the presidium table with the cardinal primate of Esztergom and the bishops of the Catholic and evangelical churches in the same hall with the leaders of the Israelite church and of the free churches. This fact aroused understandable interest around the world among both religious and non-religious people and called attention to the social development of Hungary. Following this, domestic and international public opinion watched with special attention the visit of Janos Kadar to Pope Paul VI in the Vatican.

The mutual efforts thus proved successful. For this very reason it would be useful to examine in somewhat more detail the components, antecedents and background of this development.

At the time of the liberation there reigned in our homeland backward, semi-feudal relationships within which the separation of church and state had not yet been fully realized in the legal sense. Ending the religious legitimization of state power, dividing up the church estates, liquidating the church privileges enjoyed in the educational system--in a word, secularization in the narrower sense, carrying out the tasks which had long been carried out in the more developed bourgeois states awaited the new state, the new society in the process of formation; and from the moment

of the liberation the most aware worker strata played the most active and most progressive role in this.

We know that the churches--at least their conservative leaders--did not give up their privileges easily. Naturally the sharp counter-offensive of political clericalism placed anti-clerical motifs in the foreground in the relations with religion of the communists, the workers and the progressive social forces in general.

Although the agreements of 1948 and 1950 between the state and the churches made it possible to replace the earlier "cold war" with a form of moderation a profound analysis of the given situation and drawing the necessary conclusions could take place only in the period following 1957.

"The development and strengthening of our socialist society and the consistent policy of our government made it possible for and aided the churches to find their place in the Hungarian People's Republic. Conditions were created for the development of orderly relations, suiting the interests of socialism, ensured for the long run and resting on principled foundations, between the state and the various churches. Today the situation is consolidated and balanced," Imre Miklos, chairman of the State Church Affairs Office, stated in an article published in January of this year in the journal VILAGOSSAG [see JPRS 68663, 22 Feb 1977, No 1357 of this series, pp 1-8]. Relations between the state and the churches are developing in accordance with the objective interests of socialist construction and in a way approved by the churches and our church policy principles are being realized in harmony with the requirements of social development. One of the most important elements of this is that "maintaining orderly relations between the socialist state and the churches is necessary and possible, realizing political-social cooperation between Marxists and believers in questions affecting our society as a whole." The broad believer masses also support the policy of building a developed socialist society, the great national program, for the believers also are participating in this work without being forced to give up their religious convictions in any way.

The article also points out that within the frameworks of the Patriotic People's Front the church leaders, the pastors and individual believers have an opportunity for active political and public life action and for debating social questions. Participation in the work of the Patriotic People's Front involves not only cooperation in the realization of common tasks but also provides an opportunity for the churches and the believers to express their own positions and--making use of the possibility for constructive criticism--to contribute to the success of the efforts aimed at elevating our people and of the struggle for peace and progress.

The cooperation of the Vatican was also necessary to consolidate relations between the state and the Catholic Church. The change in international

power relationships and the favorable turn in the internal development of our society made it possible for agreements to come into being in various questions between the government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Vatican. These contacts have a past of almost 15 years. Imre Miklos notes that the contacts between the Vatican and the Hungarian government do not deviate from the ordinary. Naturally there are questions of common interest and from time to time representatives of our state discuss these with representatives of the Vatican. As a result of these discussions we signed a detailed agreement in 1964 whereby we settled on ways to appoint bishops and other chief clerics, gave a correct interpretation to the citizenship oath of priests and referred to the authority of the Hungarian Bench of Catholic Bishops the Hungarian Papal Church Institute functioning in Rome, which now functions in accordance with its original purpose and aids the higher level further training of Hungarian priests.

As a result of the encyclicals of popes John XXIII and Paul VI dealing with peace and social questions and as a result of the resolutions of the Second Vatican Council realism and a readiness to settle questions of common interest have strengthened in Catholic Church circles. So an opportunity to conduct discussions has opened. "As a result of this, more chief Roman Catholic priests were named in 1974, after which Pope Paul VI declared empty the chair of the Esztergom primate even in terms of church law--a seat formally held until then by Jozsef Mindszenty who had gone abroad in 1971. The case of the chair of the Esztergom primate was settled when Pope Paul VI appointed a new primate of Esztergom in February 1976 in the person of Dr Laszlo Lekai and when he was made a cardinal at the May consistory. A bishop or cardinal now heads every Roman Catholic diocese in Hungary."

The churches joined actively in the efforts being made for a decrease in international tension and the elimination of the danger of war.

In their international activity they tried to aid a uniting of progressive forces and efforts aimed at creating an anti-war united front in accordance with the principles and practice of peaceful coexistence and political cooperation. This trend has strengthened significantly since the European security and cooperation conference held in Helsinki. The principles of the closing statement opened up new possibilities and developed new forms for international contacts.

The 30th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland was an important milestone in the behavior of the churches.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation the Hungarian Bench of Catholic Bishops issued a circular letter in which we can read the following: "Together with the people the Church has found its new place in the socialist society and it assumes a full identity of fate with the people in the future." Similar statements were made by the

leading bodies of the Reformed Church, the Evangelical Church, the Israelite and other churches. A year later, in February 1976 after Laszlo Lekai was named primate of Esztergom, he made the following statement to the Hungarian Telegraph Office [News Agency]: "As Prince Primate of Esztergom I regard it as my mission to stand on the soil of realities; I will seek to aid and not to reverse the process of development. The reality is that we live together, believers and non-believers, in a socialist society. We all want to prosper here and we are striving to improve this life and well being, worthy of a human being, with our own physical and intellectual work."

In his speech to the Sixth Congress of the People's Front Cardinal Lekai said: "It is the interest of the Hungarian church and state that the good relations which have developed should continue to develop favorably. So it is in the interest of both sides that they uphold the agreements they have made thus far. The believers can rest assured that they can practice their religious convictions freely and suffer no harm on this account. For this reason, with their chief pastors leading them, they can join actively with non-believers in the responsible work of nation building. Naturally, they also should respect the world-view of their Marxist fellow citizens." He also noted that churchmen were gladly joining in the knowledge of the homeland movement and participating in that work which is decreasing the number of "blank spots" in the map of the Hungarian past and art history. The church is encouraging its believers to do social work, to build nurseries and kindergartens and develop communities. It is raising its voice for the purity of individual and public life, respect for public property and protection of the environment.

"We can ensure all this many-sided internal peaceful development only if we help to preserve the external, international peace. This is a constant concern of our state and of peace loving peoples. But it is also a concern of the world church. This is why the Vatican participated in the Helsinki conference and this is why Pope Paul VI proclaimed January first to be a day of world peace," Cardinal Laszlo Lekai said.

Dr Tibor Bartha, a bishop of the Reformed Church, chairman of the ecumenical council of Hungarian churches and a member of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, said: "The churches have called the attention of their believers to the fact that they should contribute first of all in their own environment, in their own families and places of work to the realization of the goals of our society, to the realization of the program of the Patriotic People's Front."

He also talked about the good development of state and church relations. "Our most holy historical traditions oblige us to take part in the national union within the frameworks of which men of good will, Marxists and those who believe in God, accept one another as partners without regard to world-view differences so that fruitful cooperation can develop among them."



Laszlo Salgo, first rabbi of Budapest, said in his speech that the Jews had found a home in the Hungarian People's Republic and were participating heart and soul in the building of socialism.

Before all else these statements show that in our homeland socialism and the religions--despite the implacable world-view opposition--fit well together in the area of everyday life, practical activity and construction. They also show that the believer citizens are able to identify with the goals linked to the building of socialism and can commit themselves to the cause of socialism, something which is increasingly proven by everyday experience too.

Let us add that the socialist state, on the basis of considerations of principle, also requires the activity of religious workers interested in social progress and in building socialism.

[7 Sep 77, p 5]

[Text] II. Common Goals

Gyorgy Aczel, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, wrote a detailed analytical study in issue 10, 1976, of the journal VILAGOSSAG [see JPRS 68180, 8 Nov 1976, No 1316 of this series, pp 27-37] under the title "The Churches and the Socialist State in Hungary." Gyorgy Aczel, with special regard for national unity, stated among other things:

"Naturally the national unity thus created does not mean some sort of homogeneity. It is a dialectic unity of diversity in which Marxism-Leninism has hegemony ideologically because in accordance with its nature this scientific world view can uncover most profoundly the problems of the age and give the most valid answers to them." He then continued: "In this complex process--in which the party must constantly supervise itself--no true progress would be possible if it were not possible to use, in the formulation of economic, political and cultural goals, the plans and proposals of all the creative forces of society, if it were not possible to inspire in a socialist direction--even while maintaining the world-view differences--common activity aimed at the good of all workers."

Following this the article quotes Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP: "One cannot see into the souls of men. But I believe that there are more than a few believers in our homeland. When we speak of universal cooperation and socialist organizational unity we are also thinking of them. We must all stick together. So it gives us pleasure that in connection with the 30th anniversary of the liberation the churches also have taken a stand, in a patriotic spirit and in a beautiful way, and in harmony with their own desires and goals, and are helping to make this anniversary a worthy celebration. By doing

this they give the greatest aid to the believers rather than to the professional politicians. During the past 30 years they have resolved that the problem of conscience and internal conflicts as to whether they sided with the church or with the political forces working for the good and happiness of the people. This means a great deal from the viewpoint of our past and our future."

Looking at the question from the side of the policy of the MSZMP Gyorgy Aczel stated: "The Marxist party is proceeding correctly if it desires this practical cooperation just as sincerely as it unambiguously represents its scientific world-view of dialectical and historical materialism. It would appear that it is clear to the leaders of the churches in Hungary that the realization of the great historical goals not only serves the good and happiness of their believers but also corresponds to the requirements of their articles of faith. There is thus spreading among the clerics an active support for certain tasks in the building of socialism which goes beyond mere loyalty and a recognition of the status quo appearing in the socialist social order."

The article then refers to the progressive historical traditions of the churches themselves--international influences, the *aggiornamento*, and that historical self-examination signs of which could be observed in the past 2 decades in most of the large churches and their centers, in the Vatican and in the World Council of Churches.

"Practice proves," the article continues, "that what is necessary is also possible: the world-view differences do not rule out practical cooperation between religious and non-religious people. We may have different opinions about the created or eternal nature of the material world, about the immortality of the soul and even about the source of moral values. But these differences of view do not rule out the possibility that in regard to their tasks in this world religious and non-religious people can agree in all those questions the solution of which they consider necessary in the interest of their happiness and of social development. Some may say to this that differing ideological foundations can lead to debates not only in the philosophical sphere but also in the political and moral sphere. Naturally this is true, but this debate--as our domestic experiences show--is a debate not between enemies but rather between people progressing on a common road who conduct their exchange of views on differing world-view foundations but with a common responsibility and who are themselves enriched by the exchange."

According to our public opinion useful experiences have been gathered in Hungary in connection with the uniting of people with differing world views. We want to make use of these experiences in the future too in order to serve the solution of the common national and international tasks of believers and Marxists.

The final conclusion of his study was: "Naturally there are still more than a few who do not yet see clearly the relationship between world-view

differences and the necessity for common social action with those of different opinions. But two things appear certain. One is that the Marxists and the Christians must give answers to the same questions on the same world, must prevent the danger of the same war and must give their opinions in their own way about the same capitalist and the same socialist systems. The other is that Marxism and religion will live together for a long time to come. Even if these ideological systems cannot agree with one another the representatives of these systems can agree on those actions which they undertake--even if with differing world-view motivations--in the interest of human happiness, in the name of humanism and against war and the flames of hatred. On the basis of our experiences we can state that this is not only necessary, it is also possible--not only possible, but also necessary."

The study caused a great sensation on all sides. Representatives of the churches took answering positions too. In the Catholic journal VIGILIA Jozsef Cserhati, the Bishop of Pecs, wrote as follows, among other things, in an article titled "Open Gates":

"The study by Gyorgy Aczel awaits an answer. The arguments and conclusions of the pleasantly worded article attempt, in a veiled manner but with the harsh urgency of facts, to awaken self-criticism and an awareness of responsibility in all those who, from near or far, have an obligation to participate in the solution of the economic, social, political and cultural tasks of popular and national well being. Among these responsible factors the churches must certainly have a place; they may be secondary in the cultural and material elevation of our people but they must have a primary role in creating national unity, spiritual reconciliation, fraternity and the transformation into a family.

"It is our feeling that the study by Gyorgy Aczel is a search for a path, but it is also a challenge to the churches: let us all make a new start, let us seek together the possibilities, conditions and true goals for solutions. The openness of the study calls on us to pay more attention to one another, to desire and to be capable of giving to one another from our values, and to dare, through each others' reserves of strength and weaknesses, to undertake with a common resolve to make the Hungarian people happy and to show and offer to the entire world the values of this handful of Hungarians."

The article continues: "The Church, renewed by the Second Vatican Council, is ready for a dialog because it seeks a dialog and considers it necessary simply from an awareness of its mission. The demand in the church for a dialog derives from two fundamental convictions. One is the compulsion of epochal events; the other derives from the internal nature of the Church, or rather from the moral behavior of the Christian man, in a commitment to a happier human future."

Bishop Cserhati emphasizes that "working together follows logically from living together. But we must draw the lines in advance: An approach to

one another is not possible in the ideological area because this would involve giving up principles or an especially harmful mixing of them." He adds later: "In his listing of the principles for cooperation the deputy premier refers to experienced facts and achievements. This gives us the right to talk about our difficulties too, starting from experienced observations. We would be deluding one another and the world if we were not frank and outspoken in this area, if we did not expect, in accordance with the desire of our heart, understanding and support from the partner. Despite the ideological differences the Christians consciously want to cooperate and they are ready to offer their service in the service of the common good."

Speaking of the popular front policy, he states: "Ever since the MSZMP and the Hungarian government have striven to broaden the Patriotic People's Front and to give it more content and ever since the alliance policy has been more than a slogan, here and there, in deed and in truly human gestures, the expression of trust in religious people has become increasingly discernible."

"It is my view," he writes later, "on the basis of the human element, that Christians and Marxists imbued with the desire to cherish humanity can build bridges toward one another on the ideological level, while maintaining their own ideologies, in the mutually productive sense of contributing to the sketching of a unique and general picture of man their own achievements in regard to a view of man. This would mean an indisputable human enrichment."

"I would designate the chief goal of Gyorgy Aczel's statement as follows: A responsible politician is concerned for national unity and recognizes no greater or holier task in the present moment than to demand everything for the deepening and strengthening of popular, national unity. We feel ourselves called to realize this goal. As a result of the contemporary striving for renewal by the Church it is doubly necessary for us Catholics to be inspired by the great truths; a new generation must be born from an undertaking of sacrifices and if we want to be true and self-aware children of the Hungarian homeland then we should live up to our love of the homeland by seeing that the entire Hungarian people build in a united way the new communal society."

Let us add that Bishop Cserhati's article contains those conditions which the church considers necessary for cooperation. Thus it speaks in detail about the possibilities for cooperation and the limits thereto, about the intellectual and ethical energy of Christianity and about the view, which he says can still be found, which regards religious people as second class citizens. He mentions the problem of the undisturbed nature of religious instruction, "recognition of the value of religion and acceptance of its moral influence on the creation of a community."

[9 Sep 77, p 5]

[Text] III. Cooperation Without Abandoning Ideology, Theology

In the first issue of the new journal CONFESSIO Dr Tibor Bartha, the Reformed Church bishop, wrote a large study about relations between the churches and the state. The title of the analytical article was "Churches in Socialism." He deals in detail with the situation of both the Reformed Church and the Catholic Church and presents his opinion about the studies by Gyorgy Aczel and Imre Miklos. In connection with the alliance policy he states, among other things: "Christianity in Hungary did not recognize on a theoretical level the justice of the leading political role of the party. Facts have convinced it that this leadership serves the good of man and nation and thus it has a moral right to play the leading role. Of crucial significance from the viewpoint of the churches was the experience gained in the middle 1950's that the legitimate representatives of Marxism-Leninism, taking every risk, did correct the distortions which had appeared earlier in the political practice of the party (and developed, among other things, a church policy conception which corresponds to the interests of the churches and society alike). Facts have made credible to citizens with various world views the moral value of the political program and practice of the party which Janos Kadar formulated as follows: 'The communists want to prosper and can prosper only together with the people for service to the people is the goal and meaning of their life.' Realization of this program and moral quality has resulted in a unity of the people and the political leadership never before seen in the history of our homeland. The 11th Congress of the party could justly say of this unity: 'The close link and unity between the party and the people, the mutual trust between the party and the masses, means much for us today, it means more than anything.'"

"Love is not a political category," he writes further on, "If, despite this, the moral quality and political program of the leadership raise the national concord to the level of love then we are faced with a curious, historically rare and honorable fact. It follows from this that the one-party system--which causes such problems for bourgeois democrats--does not evoke antipathy in people who experience the national concord. I am convinced that every Hungarian who thinks in a responsible way recognizes the political advantages of our social system in the life of a people whose history from the end of the 16th Century to the middle of our century was a chain of national catastrophes which included foreign oppression and the life destroying, value destroying work of a class rule which was opposed to the interests of the people.

"After such antecedents we must regard as providential an historical epoch in which a leadership desiring to serve the interests of the people unites all the creative forces of the nation and attempts to make up for the losses and neglects of centuries."

Writing of the dialog between Marxists and Christians he expresses himself as follows:

"In connection with dialog Gyorgy Aczel refers to practice. In our homeland this practice goes back one generation. In the course of this generation the dialog has had various phases; an attempt to know one another more fully, the solution of questions connected with settling relations between state and church, exchanges concerning the possibility of and conditions for the dialog itself, etc. We cannot regard these phases as closed; we must continually and mutually strive to become acquainted with the opposing world-view theses, to solve the problems which continually appear in state-church relations and to clarify the theoretical and practical questions and methods of a Marxist-Christian dialog. But one must agree with Gyorgy Aczel when he unambiguously states that we are now in a period of dialog directed at cooperation when attention is concentrated not exclusively on an exchange about dialog or about cooperation but rather on cooperation itself.

"I consider it necessary for our readers to be better informed about the above interpretation of the Marxist-Christian dialog, in regard to its antecedents, despite the fact that in regard to the Reformed Church the Christian-Marxist dialog actually began with cooperation and so this conception of dialog is not new or unknown to us."

Bishop Dr Zoltan Kaldy deals with the studies of Gyorgy Aczel and Imre Miklos in EVANGELIKUS ELET under the title "Necessary and Possible."

"We are happy about these studies," the article says among other things, "because they provide clear points of view for Christians and Marxists about the necessity, possibility and limits of cooperation. The authors of both articles speak openly and candidly and in a human way.

"We also see," Bishop Kaldy continues, "that every man of good will on earth must unite to prevent thermonuclear war, creating by joint efforts a world of peace in which justice and security will prevail. We noted especially that Gyorgy Aczel speaks of socialism as 'an extension and true realization of the dimensions of love.' This formulation is not only very beautiful it is also true. We Christians must clearly see that in the capitalist social order the capitalist structure sets limits to the practice of love so that even the best Christian can at most carry out 'acts of charity.'"

In regard to cooperation he states that it is not "unprincipled" or, from the Christian side, "untheological" but rather has a principled or theological foundation. "We Christians stand on our own base--which has a biblical foundation--when we work for our people and for the happiness of all mankind. A theological or ideological mixture is neither necessary nor possible. The Marxists are not undertaking this either and

neither are we Christians. The 'washing away of borders' is not necessary or possible but even without washing away borders cooperation between Marxists and Christians for the great historical goals, for the happiness of our people, is possible." We felt it necessary to report on the "dialog" of state and church leaders in such detail because their statements show most clearly the development of new types of contacts, the possibilities of cooperation and the fact that the cooperation and uniting of state and church, of Marxists and believers, for realizing the great national goals is ensured even over the long range.

[11 Sep 77, p 9]

[Text] IV. History Will Judge

Domestic and international public opinion regarded as an historical milestone the visit of Janos Kadar to the Vatican and the speech given by Pope Paul VI on the occasion of the meeting. A long road led to this point, in both Hungary and in the Vatican, a road which was not free of obstacles produced by lack of understanding.

It was a difficult road on which every step required careful planning. A patient and persistent use of the tools of persuasion had to prepare the soil and begin the dismantling of the barricades. In the church the intellectual and moral work of a gradual clarification of the atmosphere was linked to the papal encyclicals dealing with social questions and to the resolutions of the Second Vatican Council. In Hungary it was linked to the spread of the alliance and popular front policy and to the deepening and substantive enrichment of the ideal of national unity. In this way we made progress and came closer to one another, gradually decreasing and then doing away with the misgivings both here and there.

The significance of the speech made by Pope Paul VI on the occasion of the visit goes far beyond praise for the relations of socialist Hungary and the Holy See. It has general validity for the words of the head of the world church with the greatest mass influence are valued by religious people in countries on five continents as well as by the political leaders of states. One can feel in every line of the speech that great responsibility with which the Pope chose his words, carefully weighing them so that *urbi et orbi* would understand precisely what he intended to say. He warned that some would receive with criticism and doubt the initiatives aimed at improving and settling relations but at the same time his words carried the strong conviction that history would justify those who took the road of cooperation. He emphasized the moral obligation and courage of seeking new solutions when he noted that the Church would not recoil even from decisions which seemed daring. And he thoughtfully made this categorial imperative apply not only to the Church. In the light of the historical experiences of two millenia he drew the lesson that it was necessary to work on service to man, on furthering man's rights and aspirations, on developing a life worthy of a man, on peace and on creating a just social order. "We believe," the Pope said, "that experiences

thus far justify the road taken, that we carry out a dialog about common problems.

"We know," the Pope turned to Janos Kadar, "that you have expressed your readiness for this on many occasions. This prompts us to see your visit, which in a certain sense we regard as a final justification of the road taken thus far, as also a promise, a promise that we will achieve new things in our relations, in mutual understanding and in service to noble causes which will serve with positive cooperation the interests of the Hungarian people and, beyond this, the interests of other peoples and of all mankind, the defense of peace and the social, economic, cultural and moral progress of the peoples.

"The Holy See recognizes and greatly appreciates all that Hungary can do in this regard. Its historical and geographic position in the heart of Europe prompts this country in an almost lawlike way to love and desire peace. The Hungarian government for its part similarly appreciated the readiness of the Holy See to contribute to those efforts which are actually an obligation deriving from common interests. We cannot forget, among other things, that in 1969 the Holy See received from Budapest the first appeal to support the initiative aimed at strengthening European security and cooperation, which was later embodied in the Helsinki conference. It was an honor to the Holy See that it could participate in this conference in the awareness that it could thus create a serious moral and political foundation for the better coexistence of the peoples of our continent. It is our fervent desire that every signatory country should perfectly execute in every detail the final document of the conference which was signed by the majority of the leaders of the European states."

And in connection with this Janos Kadar spoke of relations between the Hungarian state and the Church at a press conference in Rome in answer to a question by a correspondent for OSSERVATORE ROMANO. He said among other things:

"The Vatican is one of the smallest states in the world in terms of area and population, it has no armed forces, but it has political importance. I consider it appropriate that having come to Rome I should look up Pope Paul VI. I might say that I got very good impressions during the few hours spent in the Vatican. I consider it permissible and just that I should express gratitude for the efforts of the Pope and of the Vatican made in the interest of the cause of peace, of peaceful coexistence, of detente and especially in the interest of the Helsinki agreement. It was my request that we should prepare for Belgrade in the same spirit. I was thinking of the well known fact that more people than there are citizens of the Vatican listen to the word of the Pope and of the Vatican.

"Pope Paul VI evaluated the meeting today as a significant event in regard to our relations; it concludes the process of the regularization of



relations between the Catholic Church and the Hungarian state, and this is to be welcomed. It is my personal conviction that the socialist Hungarian state, the Hungarian People's Republic, will last for many, many generations and the churches will exist for generations yet also.

"We consider it our obligation that relations between state and church should be regularized--and we have an interest in this too. No instrument has yet been invented which will indicate who is a true believer and who is not. One cannot say numerically how many believers there are in Hungary. But it is certain that there are believers. A sharp confrontation between state and church would put them before unacceptable problems of conscience. Let me say that there are no such problems in Hungary.

"It is true that we worked for many years with delegates of the Vatican before we could settle relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary. But believers in our homeland have no problems of conscience. We do not interfere with the free practice of religion or in the lives of the churches. Whoever wants to can go to mass or church services on Sunday as he sees fit--he does not come into opposition to the state.

"The Hungarian spokesmen for the Roman Catholic Church have officially announced that the constitutional laws of the Hungarian People's Republic are being upheld and with their own tools they are supporting the constructive plans of the Hungarian people. We desire nothing more from the people of the church.

"I thanked the representatives of the Pope and, naturally, the Pope himself for their efforts in regularizing our relations. I spoke of our present relations with special satisfaction. Of course, complex questions come up in discussions, discussions last a long time, agreements are born slowly. But I can state with pleasure that both parties are carrying out correctly what we agreed upon. Both of us can say with satisfaction that our intentions correspond; the leaders of the Vatican and of the Hungarian People's Republic will mutually strive in the future also to develop further this favorable process. We are listening to one another and are taking into consideration and respecting the interests of the other side.

"Relations between state and church have been lastingly settled in Hungary."

The correspondent of the CORRIERE DELLA SERA inquired about the situation of the other churches operating in Hungary. Janos Kadar answered:

"What I said about the regularized nature of state and church relations applies to all churches operating in Hungary.

"Our relations with one another have been settled in the 30 years since the liberation. The basis in principle is the same: the churches

respect the basic law of the state and the state respects the autonomy of the churches and guarantees freedom of religion.

"Our relations with the Protestant churches in Hungary were settled earlier.

"There are no special debates with any church on the agenda. But there can always be problems and they certainly arise. Such things are customary among other partners and even in the best of families. The most effective prescription in such cases is patience. If we are to settle problems we must understand the other side. I am very certain that just as we now have no serious conflicts with any church in Hungary so we will have none in the future."

We can objectively state today that the regularization of state and church relations and the ideological and political determination of the area for practical cooperation have contributed to a significant degree to increasing the cohesive strength and the co-efficients of stability of our society. Beyond the literal meaning of institutional systems the development of this situation has made it possible for believers to consciously affirm socialism, has made possible the convinced building of a society which means the self-realization of man, faithful service to people and nation, justice and peace.

8984

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

DECREE ON STATE'S RIGHT OF EMINENT DOMAIN ISSUED

Budapest PENZUGYI KOZLONY in Hungarian 25 Oct 77 pp 342-344

[Council of Ministers Decree No 39/1977 (X. 12): "On the State's Prior Purchase Right"]

Paragraph 1

[Text] (1) The state has a prior purchase right for purposes of public interest when a real property or its fraction owned by a private person is offered for sale if the property is in the following inhabited areas:

- a. in the capital, megye seats, or cities;
  - b. in communities that are nationally important resorts;
  - c. in communities that are designated by statutory provisions as communities where state-employed workers receive support for home building, furthermore,
  - d. in communities that are designated to be middle-level administrative centers by the megye council's executive committee.
- (2) The state's prior purchase right does not apply to sales among co-owners.
- (3) The state's prior purchase right has primacy among all other buying rights whether based on statutory provision or contractual.

Paragraph 2

(1) The prior purchase right can be exercised on unimproved lots for the realization of the following public interest purposes:

- a. home building, supported by the state (local council) investment;
- b. such investments for the realization of which the local council authorities must furnish the real estate;

c. home or vacation home to be built from private resources for which the real estate--leased for extended period or sold--is furnished by the local council organs;

d. in the interest of the necessary preservation and environmental protection of areas of outstanding natural beauty (Balaton uplands, Danube Bend, etc.) the acquisition of the ownership of enclosed gardens and outlying parcels;

e. as a check on the actual market value of the real property.

(2) The right of prior purchase for real property with building(s) on it may be exercised for the realization of the following purposes which are in the public interest and serve the community directly:

a. for the realization of social, cultural and health facilities in the present middle-range plan period, furthermore

b. as a check of the actual market value of the real property.

#### Paragraph 3

(1) The state's prior purchase right is exercised--within limits set by the council--by the organ responsible for construction tasks of the executive committee of the appropriate local council according to the location of the real estate or, in villages, its unified branch directorate (hereafter: branch directorate).

In the capital it may be directed that the prior purchase right is to be exercised by one of the branch directorate throughout the entire area of the capital.

(2) The prior purchase right can be exercised within 30 days from the reporting presentation) (date) of the sales contract for the purpose of transfer fee assessment.

(3) The tasks connected with the sale, including registration of the state's ownership or managing rights, are to be completed by the National Savings Bank [OTP].

#### Paragraph 4

(1) If the conditions for the prior purchase right exist, the registration office is obligated to send the sales contract which was reported (presented) to it for the assessment of transfer fee without delay to the branch directorate. The seller and the buyer must be notified of this action.

(2) The branch directorate is obligated to notify the seller, the original buyer, the assessment office and the OTP of the exercise of the prior purchase right. It must also send to the OTP the sales contract that was reported (presented) for fee assessment.

(3) If the prior purchase right is exercised the assessment office is to refund to the payer without delay the prepaid assessment fee without the need to show tax verification.

(4) If the prior purchase right is not exercised by the branch directorate, it is to notify by the return of the sales contract the assessment office.

#### Paragraph 5

(1) When the prior purchase right is exercised, the sales contract between the seller and the state will come into being with the original content. The state is obligated to pay, through OTP, the purchase price within 30 days from the exercise of the prior purchase right and in a single payment.

(2) Any amounts paid by the original buyer to the seller must be deducted from the purchase price, along with any prior tax debt or other obligation of the seller to the state, as well as any OTP debts connected with this real property. At the demand of the OTP the original buyer is obligated to document the sum paid to the purchaser and the seller is to document debts owed to the state.

#### Paragraph 6

(1) Within 30 days from the exercise of the purchase right, the OTP will pay the sum to the original buyer that was paid to the seller.

(2) The state, through the OTP, is obligated to repay the original buyer any documented expense accrued in connection with the sales contract. The expenses, at the request of the OTP, must be documented by the original buyer; these must be paid within 30 days after the documentation.

#### Paragraph 7

If the assessment office sent the sales contract--for the purpose of the prior purchase right--to the branch directorate, the assessment office can issue proof that is necessary for real estate registration of ownership (paragraph 35 of Decree 11/1966 [VI. 29] PM) only if the branch directorate notified it that the prior purchase right is not exercised or that the time expired for the exercise of the right.

#### Paragraph 8

For its efforts in completing the tasks connected with the sale, the OTP is entitled to a handling fee in the sum of 1 percent of the purchase price which is to burden the same financial source as the purchase of the real estate.

#### Paragraph 9

It is not necessary to apply the provisions of Government Decree 2/1959 (I. 3) on the material or real estate purchase of state organs from private persons for real estate purchase on the basis of this decree.

Paragraph 10

This decree takes effect on 1 January 1978; its provisions, after coming into force, are to be applied to sales contracts reported (presented) for fee assessment.

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CSO: 2500

PAST, PRESENT EXISTENCE OF GENTRY CLASS DISCUSSED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 12 Nov 77 p 3

[Interview with Dezso Keresztury by Andras Mezei: "Does the Hungarian Gentry Still Live?"]

[Text] [Question] In your passionate speech at the Szentendre meeting of artists you chastised the contemporary imitating of the gentry; even if your diversion succeeded then (several months ago) you have now reached a sensitive point. Are you not seeing phantoms when you speak about the survival of a certain gentroid spirit? Especially so because, I understand, you are of gentry origin yourself.

[Answer] Well, I cannot say that you are quibbling. You are right, I am of gentry origin. I never made a secret of it and what is more I was never ashamed of it. Few recognize today that there also existed in Hungary a nobler gentry, a cultivated noble remnant capable of managing, engaging in trade, driving industry and administering. Nor was it so rare to find a nobler noble who, if necessary or if he became impoverished, did not shrink from studying, keeping up with the requirements of the age, standing on his own feet and earning an honest existence. My parents were like that. My mother, who managed a farm of more than 100 yokes, worked from morning to night and my father served as mayor of my native city to the satisfaction of all. There were gentry who won material and moral recognition with their work. But these have been forgotten in the course of time for literature has preserved for us the empty-headed lumpen gentry who traded their rank for goods. If I scold the gentrism of today I am not thinking of an imitation of the good ethical or moral behavior which is welcome even today but rather of the others, the appearance of the so-called gentroid spirit in the most unexpected places and in the most unexpected forms. I am sensitive to this even today because since my youth, as a family tradition, I have been repelled by this pseudo-noble behavior which is really alien to true Hungarianness. And if you ask, does the gentroid spirit still live, I must answer unfortunately that it does survive with a monstrously accomodating readiness even amidst the socialist conditions which are so unfavorable for it.

[Question] Why was the gentroid spirit of yesterday so annoyingly laughable and why is the contemporary version so laughably annoying?

[Answer] Because it is a monkey parade! Why did the impoverished nobles become "gentry?" Swagger. Even the word "gentry" is an English word. It came into existence after the Compromise [of 1867] when the rising bourgeoisie acquired titles and rank by marrying into the families of the impoverished, empty-headed, lazy, debauched nobles. This is when that process began to which Endre Ady so often called attention: Instead of the moral survival of Hungarianness we had a formal assimilation of everything which this content meant. Hungarian coats, caps with crane feathers, cordovan boots and old swords could become in a moment the empty paraphernalia in a great assimilation process which was contradicted by the fact that there could be no essential assimilation. The heroes of these "Hungarian" orgies, the "I humbly beg yous," the ankle crackers and the famous dueling heroes were simply a monkey parade. What was true became separated from what was false. The decent nobles did not have to cling to proving who they were; but even then the motley of gentroid nobility hid the nobility of service to good causes--"nothing but show." So let us stop here a moment when we chide the imitators of today; we must do this with sympathy and understanding. The millions of onetime peasant and proletarian children educated for today grew up in a world of snobbish, empty Hungarianness without having any idea about something different. And if I chide the present parade of hunters I am chiding those who play these games for the sake of some imagined position. If I feel sorrow for those who today send their children to school in state cars (it used to be with a team of horses) it is with an awareness of how greatly we are influenced by the dreams and reflexes to which we become accustomed in our childhood. But we cannot be so fondly indulgent if we note that hunting now appears as a sign of rank, a form of arriving which excludes others, the mask of a clique. If the neo-prominence of equitation reminds us of the outmoded ideology, laughable even yesterday, according to which the Hungarians are a "nation on horseback," their chief characteristic being "horsiness."

[Question] But where does all this come from?

[Answer] Thomas Mann writes in his "Tetralogy" that "the well of time is profoundly deep." This derives from the false illusions which spread after the Compromise. At that time the so-called "historical stratum" of Hungarians convinced themselves that they had won because their customs were adopted; the government dressed in Hungarian gala-dress, the braided dress coat came in, but few know even today that the Hungarian gala-dress was invented by a German tailor in Pest. Three quarters of the Hungarian officers spoke German at home and they rolled their r's even if their coats were Hungarian. Even the entertainment was not Hungarian (when, for example, they gave a "Hungarian" program for the Prince of Wales) but rather a Gypsy music status symbol!

[Question] But why did you get so worked up at the Szentendre meeting of artists?

[Answer] Perhaps it was because I felt that many still did not understand what true patriotism is. And instead of seeking the more profound, the more



essential traditions and finding their roots they are imitating externals. For example, it is fashionable to address people as "Doctor." It makes a big difference whether I use the formal or informal "you" when addressing a comrade. The "dear friend" or "well, buddy." Hunting. White tables and cards as a sign of rank. Who keeps what kind of mistress. And how much people like to use "It is an honor" as a greeting. The state car has taken the place of the coach. Now the driver, with a state job, does the shopping instead of the servant, takes care of the chores. He is the household confidant. And if anything has changed in all this it is "only" that the one-time gentry paid for it all out of his own pocket or debts.... I could list the new lying symbols: the summer place, the "cocktail party," the gold signet ring with coat of arms or at least initials.... Judging people according to their friends--and the old "tradition" of taking advantage of power, for the old magistrates also took advantage of their power. The unused bathrooms in some of the present peasant houses, which have become status symbols, are a sadly grotesque phenomenon....

[Question] Don't you think that all this is a transitional phenomenon? A childhood disease of the masses, rising to the level of bourgeois affluence within socialism?

[Answer] It was well that you said "bourgeois." In the 1950's they always talked about "bourgeois remnants." They chastised them, weeded them out, extirpated them. But where were the bourgeois remnants here? Where was there a strong, unified bourgeois class here? The remnants of today are transplanted from the vacated world of the Hungarian gentry and this "tradition" is blooming among the worker and peasant strata which have been raised to the level of bourgeois affluence, like niter on the walls. This is why I am worked up and this is why I say that in this question the plaster must be taken down to the brick so that the true traditions can be shown to the contemporary imitators of the gentroid traditions. So that they can be shown that there were also nobles here who most often opposed their own class because they lived and served in a human fashion and did not become dishonest; there were good magistrates, good sheriffs, priests with social feeling and engineers who worked for the progress of their villages and towns. This was the stratum of noble origin which often opposed Szalasi and many members of it went to the concentration camps. I say all this from personal memory for I well remember the days when they interned the sheriff of Somogy Megye and relieved the chief magistrate for sabotaging the fencing of the ghetto. I well remember those nobles, peasants, workers and bourgeoisie who even yesterday denied what the humbug gentry never denied: Everything for power.

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CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### WE PUT OUR BEST FOOT FORWARD

Budapest UJ TOKOR in Hungarian 16 Oct 77 p 5

[Article by Arpad Punkosti: "We Distinguish Ourselves"]

[Text] How right you are, Mrs Nelli, that no one should want to distinguish himself! Here is your dear husband, Foris, an outstanding pilot, and once he puts his best foot forward, anything can happen. Those who saw Istvan Orkeny's play entitled "Kulcskeresok [Key Seekers]" know that I am speaking of its heroes, first of all of course Foris, a good pilot but not worthy to be a pilot. We know people of this mysterious type. Foris was a military pilot and he also wanted to distinguish himself there. He was supposed to photograph a railroad bridge, a simple task and routine work, but courageously wanted to make a sharp photograph, and so zip, and he had slipped across the border, and took a photograph of the Sankt-Michelsdorf Roman Catholic parish church instead of the bridge. He began his civil life in Leipzig. Because of fog his aircraft was rerouted to the Berlin airport, but he saved this detour and faultlessly set the aircraft down, indeed by error in the cattle market, but caused only the breed bulls imported from Switzerland to panic. In the end Foris was master of the situation, but they reassigned him anyway!

Here is the Prague route, which he is taking to Budapest again after a long time as chief pilot. He does not choose the routine solution, not the one which every average pilot would execute with his little finger, for he wants to distinguish himself! For this reason he lands on the meadow in front of the runway. It is easy to land smoothly on the runway, but for someone to do the same thing on a meadow strewn with pits! Here the true pilot can show what he can do! Foris does not panic, but coldbloodedly rushes across a football field toward the cemetery with his extremely expensive machine, 40 passengers and the crew of eight on board. This wonderful man even makes sure that he stops properly on the right side of the highway in the direction of traffic.

The heroism of Foris did not only arouse admiration in the auditorium, but also among his theatrical comrades, and refined failure into victory. We too, as spectators or as participants, in turn applaud Foris without paying attention to the fact that we have not stopped at the airport, but in front of the cemetery.

There is an enormous linguistic debate going on about what to name the BAH (Balatoni Street-Alkotas Street-Hegyalja Street) crossing. The most extreme opinions have clashed here, and enthusiastic national unity developed only dedication, when the pedestrians, drivers and traffic policeman, irreconcilably opposed a moment before and a moment after, strolled up and down arm in arm. We put our best foot forward in this dedication! Then a few weeks and a few months passed, the crossing was closed, and the work abandoned for the sake of the holiday was finished, and this keeps the crossing at Soroksari Street waiting.

But who did not celebrate when he knew at which of the revised deadlines the Hilton Hotel would be finished? Who was told that this was only a sort of partial opening, because there was certainly quite a bit to be done yet?

I have gradually begun to fear our holidays because the nonachievers, who wish to make a good appearance at any price, are infiltrating into the mass of those anxious to welcome good honest work. Because of them we are becoming embittered and even accept real accomplishments distrustfully. Examples stretching from the Ajkai Timfoldgyar through the Miskolci Huskombinat to the Hejocsabai Cementgyar should be used to call attention to the fact that the goal of the building of socialism is not cutting ribbons, even though this is glorious, uplifting and ceremonial.

A huge fertilizer factory was built in Pet for 10 billion forints. The magnificent fog is still concealing the faultiness of the construction, but we are sure that sooner or later experts will inspect the area, and we hope they do not step into the same traps. Let us merely find one of the many traps.

There are some examples of unparalleled work in the structure and I think that, intoxicated with the dimensions, more and more rose-colored statements were made about one of the preeminent accomplishments of our day. Efforts slowly turned the statements to lilac-colored, but the essence of it was not changed at all. There were cheers on the appointed day! There was a flourish of trumpets, even at the exorbitant price of the production samples. (Who knows how many tens or hundreds of millions were spent, and how often?)

Is the manager to blame? Which one? Perhaps the foreman? We are sure that sometime they decided that we should remain at our own tables. Year after year television, radio and the newspapers formed public opinion in such a way that we are inclined to measure the brilliance of a holiday by

the number of ribbons cut. Of course all of these must be prepared for, and whoever does not want to pledge millions and billions, in short more and more, might be asked: "Do you only value this or that?" A person who wished to escape this [vicious] circle would be considered a traitor:

"My apologies, I overrated my ability and that of my partner, and there will not be a dedication!" We would consider him a spoil-sport, but we would do the same when we took off our ties and prepared an account and a balance sheet of our pledges. A clear accounting states that if one thing is accomplished another is not accomplished. It is not the spoil-sport but delusion which creeps in here and there!

"However, and this is the strange thing, I swear that this aircraft is good, that the crew is trained, that its pilot is first rate and.... And here we are bouncing over a meadow full of wild flowers, nowhere at all." Could we not just remain on the concrete!? How? We are again facing a holiday, and perhaps we are still not ready to separate the chaff from the wheat. This is what real successes and efforts worthy of honest admiration demand.

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CSO: 2500

U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD, CSCE ATTITUDE ATTACKED

Warsaw LITERATURA in Polish No 44, 3 Nov 77 p 2

[Article by Jozef Winiewicz, former Polish ambassador to U.S.: "Without Precedence"]

[Text] In connection with the meeting of representatives of foreign ministers of Europe, United States and Canada taking place in the last few weeks, it is necessary to remind ourselves about certain circumstances related to how the Helsinki Final Act, which is the basis of the current discussions in Belgrade, came into effect. First, it should not be forgotten that the preparations for Helsinki took a long time. At the beginning, the purpose which was to be achieved was, painstakingly agreed upon, then the final texts which were to be the essence of what was called the Magna Carta of Peace were patiently worked out.

During the initial efforts and during the editorial work on the document, general agreement was invariably the guiding principle -- consensu omnium. Nothing was imposed on anyone. The resulting continued search for and the eventual reaching of the compromise permit us to state that an unprecedented understanding was achieved. In this endeavor all cooperated: the countries united by alliances as well as the neutral and the non-aligned ones; the great powers as well as the lesser states. This has not happened in the history of Europe before. There was never a case in European history that all interested parties gathered at the conference table and made decisions together. In the past, the only European treaties known were those agreed upon by a few and imposed on the many or simply bilateral agreements.

The exceptional character of the Helsinki document is the result of still another factor. That document covered varied problems on which the security, peace and international cooperation of the old continent depend. It was signed by the presidents and heads of government of all states participating in the preparation of the agreement and its final acceptance. This gave the document an exceptional importance as a commitment binding for the future. This is especially so because numerous governments submitted the problems of Helsinki to their parliaments for deliberations and because a far reaching discussion was conducted in the press at the same time. Thus,

it is permissible to assume that an international agreement was achieved which was well understood and accepted by all.

During the two years which have elapsed since that memorable event in Helsinki, the importance attached to that all-European achievement was fully confirmed. The efforts to present the Final Resolution as a list of well meaning intentions which were not ratified and thus not universally binding have failed. It can be said today that the Helsinki decisions are invoked so often that only a politician completely oblivious of reality could dare to deprecate their value. The seal of approval was placed on the Magna Carta of Peace by world opinion and by the practices of governments. The Helsinki agreement became a part of the international law standards which, as we know, are often developed by custom.

Why do I return to those circumstances? These reminiscences are induced by the position taken by certain Western circles who try in Belgrade to interpret the Helsinki document contrary to its spirit, to yank some problems out of context and to use "rhetorics strictly for internal purposes," as was reported by the WASHINGTON POST (Oct 17 1977) in its critical discussion of the behavior of, primarily, the American delegate, the former justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and the former permanent delegate of that country to the United Nations, Arthur Goldberg.

According to the cited paper, "Mr. Goldberg seems to be more interested in creating a forum for discussing abuses of human rights in the past and in the present." It does not help that he ceaselessly proclaims that he does not wish to create a confrontation if his attitude brings up at the meeting the subjects which lead nowhere. At the same time, according to the WASHINGTON POST, he creates a division within the Western delegations and disagreements with many of his Western colleagues. Let alone the fact that the character of his attacks is clearly that of meddling in the internal matters of some of the socialist states and that his attacks are in concert with some crude sallies of certain Western mass media.

After all, the Belgrade conference is not exclusively devoted to the so called third basket. If it was so, it would be proper to bring up there the injustices, recently discussed in Geneva, against the American Indians, who complain about continuing abuses of their rights including, among other things, the tearing up, as if they were scraps of paper, of almost four hundred solemn commitments of the U.S. Government to great Indian tribes. We would recall the recent pronouncement of the Chairman of the Coordinating Committee of 137 American organizations for human rights, who accuses the administration of lack of interest in the fate of Negro and Latin poor who vegetate in the slums of American cities.

Also, accusations could not be avoided that the minister of internal affairs of Baden-Wuerttemberg refused asylum to Chilean refugees and that, in Bavaria, young teachers are threatened with dismissal for speaking up against penalties for abortions or for organizing Carl von Ossietzky clubs. Attention

would be directed to the allegations of the organ of the Communist Party of France, L'HUMANITE, or of the weekly VIE OUVRIERE that the French communists are subjected to chicanery and are not admitted to government service. I am citing random examples which were published in the Polish press during the last few days.

Many other, better documented and more shaking examples could be listed in a lengthy catalog of immeasurable human injustices perpetrated not only by government practices but also by the laws of many countries in this world. Among other things, I am thinking about the camp in Ostia, near Rome, for hundreds of Jews who after emigrating from Israel are not permitted to enter the U.S., where they have their families and would like to settle. The inhuman paragraphs of the immigration laws are in their way.

I am also puzzled by a comment of the Voice of America a few months ago explaining that many U.N. resolutions on human rights cannot be implemented in the United States because of the resistance of state legislatures.

Let him who is without guilt throw the stones. Will he dare after deep reflection? Mr. Goldberg, whom I know well personally, is well aware of these matters from his vast legal practice and from the U.N. deliberations critical of his country.

Thus, it was very appropriate for the Polish delegate to appeal to his colleagues in Belgrade to continue calmly the solid work, to avoid attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other states and not to raise problems outside the purview of the meeting in Belgrade. After all, it leads nowhere. The main task of the Belgrade meeting is to take care of the continuing growth of trust and cooperation among the European nations. It is a matter of detente and security with simultaneous agreements on certain specific proposals regarding questions of further cooperation. The Magna Carta of Peace does not refer in vain in many places to the necessity of encouraging by all means the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect among nations.

Viewing in this manner European developments in the last two years, we must note the unprecedented development of bilateral relations among all European states, which is certainly the result of the Helsinki conference. The achievements of Poland are exceptionally great in all fields. Our achievements in the area of Polish-French cooperation were recognized even before 1975 as the model which could be followed while preparing the Helsinki document. Polish-French relations became even more comprehensive and stable afterwards. Similar favorable development took place with our neighbors, the Scandinavian countries. The Polish-Italian rapprochement grew more extensive. Cooperation with Austria and with other smaller countries of the continent acquired a new vitality with a new content.

Let us not forget the great strides made in advancing contacts between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Edward

Gierek's visit to West Germany was the turning point in this area. We are awaiting now the visit of Helmut Schmidt. Additionally, Poland will be the first Warsaw Pact country to be visited by President Carter in December. Let him come in contact with our reality as the sample which will permit him to understand better the world of the future with which the United States has to live forever. "Forever" in the human sense and not in its mathematical, unlimited meaning.

Other socialist countries could draw similar balance sheets. And various Western countries profited from this development of the situation. Only an idiot could deny that many things have changed since the times when suspicions and recriminations were unfairly taken to be the expression of international coexistence between the East and the West. This was so before it was discovered in Helsinki that there are truer and richer signposts to the destination where it is necessary to go. This is not Goldberg's route.

The socialist delegations went to Belgrade with a well thought out package of suggestions. We are ready to drop into the "first basket" the suggestion to avoid further extension of the existing military groupings and the commitment that none of the participating states will be the first to use nuclear weapons. To the "second basket" we can put the exceptionally urgent subject of convoking all-European conferences on energy, transportation and protection of the environment. In the "third basket" we have achievements: the unprecedented growth movement of people, in cultural and scientific contacts and in the reunification of families. The Polish statistics prove it. Further developments require a relaxation of administrative obstacles on the part of the West, including a real relaxation of the visa requirements. But this is only a rough outline of what needs to be done.

Let us recall that in Helsinki Edward Gierek spoke in the name of Poland about the need to use the decisions of the Final Resolution to remove the burden imposed on nations by the recent and the more distant past in order to deepen mutual trust. He said: "in bringing up the new generations we should reach for good traditions, teach respect for the achievements and values brought to the common treasury of the human race by all nations and nurture the feelings of mutual friendliness. This is the task before all educators and creators of culture and before all who form the consciousness of nations. The launching of this task, however, depends primarily on us, the men responsible for the development and the policies of our countries."

What matters is not who will overpower whom, who embarrasses whom and who outvotes whom. Great issues are at stake. Belgrade-77 can be another unprecedented achievement as Helsinki-75 was. But this requires that the attitudes of the participating representatives of states be the right ones and that they act within the limits of the possible -- consensu omnium. All should show their good will and not attempt to wage battles of empty words, since the European community cannot afford such battles anymore.



The times are too serious. Anybody can recite the reasons for himself. A non-trivial warning is given by the violent activities of the youth in the European West, the youth that never knew poverty or scarcity but are boiling with ferment anyway.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was the initiative of the socialist states. Hence, we were especially interested in the success of Helsinki and are especially interested in the success of its continuation. This is not exclusively in our own interest. Not at all. This is for the good of all, which, in an era of growing interdependence of the great and the small, of the rich and the not-so-rich, of the involved and the non-aligned, comes to the same thing. No cynic or political opportunist can erase this truth.

8801

CSO: 2600

PZPR JOURNAL CITES COMMENTS OF PARTY MEMBERS

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTIII in Polish No 11, Nov 77 p 17

[Article by Janusz Fastyn: "This Is What Party Members Said"]

[Text] Every word is attentively listened to. People talk about what is bothering them and about what makes them satisfied, honestly and openly. They do not read from notes. Some of the thoughts are unrefined, expressed in clumsy words.

I recorded excerpts of statements which workers made at various reporting and election meetings of the party.

"What does our work look like? Can we work well? Not so long ago the slogan 'The Pole can do it' was in style. Lately you do not hear it so much. I would add something to the slogan: 'if he wants to, he can.' Our society, in general works only under half steam. All you have to do is take a good look around. You go to the office, and there you see a woman on the phone discussing what they are going to have to eat at home. Another is manicuring her nails. A third is making tea. And the fourth is not doing anything, but she does not seem anxious to take care of your business either. I recently wanted to deposit some money with the housing administration. They did not take my money: 'Come back tomorrow.' And after all, I was bringing them money. If I had wanted money from them, it would be easier to understand. After all, though, why criticize office workers. They receive the most criticism anyway. Let us take a look at ourselves. How do things look in terms of the effectiveness of the work day? The first sin is tardiness. Most of us begin work 15 minutes late, but nobody stays after to make up the 15 minutes. Just the opposite. At quitting time, everybody is very punctual. And product quality? Instead of getting better, it is getting worse. We are not saving raw materials at all, and after all we are always short of them."

"In our place each year the amount of sick leave taken in our department is greater. This is understandable in part, because the workers are getting older, and the people are becoming more susceptible to illness. A good honest worker does not go to bed for just any reason. But look how many people we have with L-4 disease, L for 'lazy' and -4 meaning 'four-fold.' We took a look at some who were the most 'susceptible,' those who each month extend their sick leave by going to a different clinic and seeing a different doctor, while they spend their sick leave digging in the garden, painting the apartment, or going fishing. We examined these sick people, they were given a warning, and they still spoil our statistics and atmosphere. Nobody will fire them, because at that we are understaffed and have positions unfilled. We have to create an atmosphere of social disapproval, but up until now we have not seen it happen that one worker would censure another one for this."

"Many subcontractors work on the building site. Each enterprise has its own equipment. Some of the equipment has been imported and paid for in dollars. Where I work a situation was created where we were in great need of a crane and did not have one of our own. An order was sent to another building site, but there they needed a crane too. It turned out that there was another crane a few dozen yards away from us that became free, one that belonged to another enterprise. I asked that we be allowed to use it. Officially the matter could not be resolved. We handled it unofficially, over a beer. But should it work that way? After all, the crane is not private property."

"We do not work as necessary, as we can, and in spite of this we have done so much in our country. How much more could be accomplished if everybody worked for Poland the way they manage to work for themselves."

"It is just that we make things terribly convenient for those who do not want to work and for those who work in just any way, or figure the angles and are jealous. For example, elegant separate houses built out of state materials with the help of equipment from the large building sites are sprouting up like mushrooms after a rain. I know that in the voivodship party control committees such things have been looked into and the guilty have been punished, but I have not heard much about investigations and indictments on similar matters."

"People have become very greedy for money and various material goods. They want to have everything and the best quality. They are impatient and demanding. It has to be! But they do not consider where it comes from. Goods which we want to buy, first we have to produce. It cannot be that a baker who always bakes bad bread gives no thought to this fact and does not try to improve his work but only criticizes the shoemaker for uncomfortable shoes and the railroad worker for a delayed train. Let each one search his conscience and look at his own hands. So long as we push responsibility away from us and see the fault everywhere except in our own place of work, nothing will improve. Our enterprise is very important in the acceleration of housing construction, and it is with full understanding

that people in our place talk about the importance of the economic maneuver. But in theory. In practice we are still doing more for the industry itself. The director came here, and he by no means set mobilizing targets for us in the realm of housing. Why? Because he is primarily interested in carrying out the plan in terms of value and grabbing bonuses for the administration. Again we will be doing not what is most needed by the society but what is the most expensive and will produce the best figures for the enterprise. I did not used to know what the phrase "special interest" meant. Now I know. This is just it. And on behalf of our party group I protest against it."

That is what the party members said.

10790  
CS0: 2600

POLAND

# DAILY COMMENTS ON NATO REACTIONS TO NEUTRON BOMB

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Nov 77 p 7

[Article by M. Berezowski: "What About the Neutron Bomb? Delays and Prompting"]

[Text] In order not to offend the ear or the imagination, a euphemism has been coined in NATO for the neutron bomb. It is called a "warhead with expanded radiation and reduced explosive power," because western discussions on whether to produce it and where to put it continue, but the political explosion of the neutron bomb has already taken place. Strategists' designs to take nuclear weapons apart during negotiations concerning their reduction have created fears and protests in Western Europe. The decision has been deferred, but the matter has not been dropped.

The prototype of the neutron warhead, with which the heavy artillery and short-range rockets can be equipped, lies in the Pentagon, if we can put it this way. The U.S. Senate has appropriated funds for its production in keeping with the desires of the White House, but the matter has been drawn out, because despite the fascination which the neutron bomb has inspired among many NATO defense ministers, for the moment none of the Western European governments wants to simply stretch out its hand to it. Is this only for the moment?

In Bari, Italy there was recently a meeting of a NATO nuclear planning group at the ministerial level. At this meeting the decision was deferred, although, as the FINANCIAL TIMES of London put it, the ministers appreciated the military significance of the neutron bomb.

"Only for Europe"

During this meeting, the American defense secretary, Harold Brown, stated that the fear of the new weapon is unjustified, because it is less dangerous to the civilian population than a "regular" nuclear charge. Brown also stated (perhaps in impatience) that unanimity of the Atlantic Pact was not

at all necessary for provisions concerning the addition of the neutron bomb to the arsenal. This was taken as a warning that the agreement of its "key members" would possibly suffice.

Meanwhile, American elements are spreading the news that the Western European countries want the United States to make the decision in favor of the production of the neutron bomb, but they themselves are reluctant to locate it within their own territory. On the other hand, on the U.S. side arguments are heard that this weapon was conceived just for NATO and it "would not be of use" outside of Central Europe.

The ominous nature of the neutron bomb is still more clearly emphasized by the bargaining going on over who is to take the major responsibility. Beyond of the calm assurances of NATO's secretary general, Joseph Luns, that this weapon is "only an artillery shell," beyond the tactical maneuvering and the technical deliberations, there appear facts which cannot be hidden.

Opponents of the neutron bomb in Western Europe warn against filling the arsenals with a weapon which kills people while saving materials. They are afraid that the borderline between a nuclear weapon and a conventional one will become unclear, because they think that the decision to use the neutron bomb as an "intermediate weapon" may be easier. Finally, they point to the adverse influence which the decision to produce this weapon would exert on international relations.

#### False Hopes

After all, nobody is treating it like "one more artillery shell." Despite the sophistication used in NATO, the dissemination of new types of nuclear weapons, with simultaneous declarations of the necessity of a departure from nuclear weapons, does not inspire faith in the elements which wage such a policy. Its particularly adverse effect follows from the fact that the designs for placing neutron bombs apply to Europe, mainly the theater of operations of detente and the most sensitive barometer of the whole world situation.

Back before these projects saw the light of day, the socialist countries proposed an agreement prohibiting the introduction of new mass destruction weaponry systems, because after all everybody knows that, given the equal military potential of the two major world power groups, military impulses on one side immediately evoke an equivalent response, and therefore nothing is gained. This is the very reason why disarmament negotiations are under way between East and West. Thought of a neutron bomb contradicts the logic of these negotiations.

On the other hand, a decision on "warheads with expanded radiation" was only deferred. It is a shocking thing that in the leadership circles of many Western countries there is the conviction that the neutron bomb would

be a desirable element of the military potential. In more than one capital a sigh goes up: "If only somehow this could all be worked out using political means!"

In reality the neutron bomb cannot fulfill the strategic hopes placed in it. It would not change the balance of power for the better in terms of the Western powers. On the other hand, in political terms, its effect would be catastrophic, because without giving anything in exchange it would bring about a great setback in relations in Europe and in detente in general.

But the ways of military mechanisms and thinking in categories of confrontation nonetheless are at work in spite of the rational circumstances. The machinery of NATO and many influential politicians, especially those on the right, continually believe first of all in a "position of strength." The neutron bomb satisfies these aspirations. Joseph Luns convinces the resistant that NATO needs it for deterrent credibility, as he puts it, in the face of the preponderance of the conventional forces of the Warsaw Pact (one would like to ask how the West now exists despite this frightful preponderance without its neutron bomb to protect it). Lord Home, former British prime minister, is asking for the bomb, referring to Peking's statement that war will break out in Europe during the next decade.

#### Fire With Water

One could say: "What extraordinary nonsense!" Unfortunately, this is not a game of harmless seniors. NATO is no longer in a hurry to come to any decision, it is true, because this has proved impossible, but in the wings efforts are being made to pressure the "key members" into agreeing. This requires overpowering the opposition in Western Europe and quieting the sceptics, and is hence related to the creation of a psychosis of threat, has Luns and Home are doing.

To arm or disarm. It would seem incredible, but in the western decision-making centers there are tendencies to join fire and water. Of course, this is not the sort of compromise under consideration.

10790  
CSO: 2600

## PARTY OFFICIAL DISMISSED FOR RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian No 10, Oct 77 p 91

[Text] Not long ago, Adrian Ogrinje was the deputy secretary for propaganda affairs at the Adamclisi Communal Party Committee in Constanta County. He, therefore, held a position of maximum importance in the orientation and leadership of all activities in the socialist education of the masses in the spirit of the profoundly revolutionary and scientific concepts regarding the world and life of our party. Unfortunately, he proved to be a follower of mysticism and obscurantism, a prisoner of certain rituals that are totally foreign to a communist. Thus, one of the professors in the general school where Ogrinje was the director was married in a religious ceremony. This professor is a member of the party and his intentions to marry were well known to the school director. In his position of deputy secretary for propaganda affairs, he should have taken the approach of patiently explaining to this person that he is taking a step that does not correspond to a communist's view regarding the world and life. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the 21-23 September 1977 Working Conference of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee "...there should be no confusion in our state's policy regarding the guarantee of freedom to the religious cults with the demands of belonging to the Communist Party which are placed before a person, and even more so for a party activist whose thoughts and life must be based on the scientific and revolutionary concepts of dialectical and historical materialism." And, instead of working in this spirit, Ogrinje took part in the professor's religious ceremony as the best man!

All of this took place under the tolerant eyes of the bureau of the communal party committee and Comrade Ion Carp, the secretary of this bureau. With regard to this secretary, it was natural for him to take such a position as long as his own behavior continued to have serious shortcomings. Some time ago, because of using certain brutal methods in dealing with people, he was sanctioned by "a vote of wrong-doing." However, he did not learn the necessary lessons and continued to have a totally inappropriate behavior. Not just a few times, right in the street, he insulted a number of citizens, was rude to them, threatened them and spoke rudely to them.



It is hard to believe that such behavior was not known by the members of the bureau of the county party committee and by the instructors of this committee assigned to guide the activities of the communal party committee. They did not, however, take the appropriate attitude. "...We must be intransigent and show great pretensions toward party activists and cadre and those who work in state and public organizations in all sectors of activity," stressed the party's secretary general at the above-mentioned working conference. "We must be intolerant of those who commit abuses. We do not do anyone any good if we allow abuses and negative habits to go on; this hurts the person involved and it hurts work, too." The events in Adamclisi reflect these truths.

After examining the situation, the secretariat of the county party committee relieved Adrian Ogrinje of the position he had held. The information that we have shows that the bureau of the county party committee intends to take disciplinary measures against the secretary of the communal party committee who, as we have seen, through his behavior has proved that he does not possess the qualities of a leader. Without a doubt, the bureau of the county party committee will take fully decisive steps so that in Adamclisi only those persons who deserve full trust will be in leadership positions.

8724

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

REPORT ON SESSION ESTABLISHING NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WORKERS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part III No 179, 14 Oct 77 pp 2-5

/Report on 13 October 1977 session establishing the National Council of Workers/

/Text/ Under the presidency of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and president of the National Council of Workers, the session establishing the National Council of Workers from industry, construction and transport took place on Thursday, 13 October 1977.

The creation of this organism, decided by the Congress of Councils of Workers and on the initiative of the party's secretary general, is an especially important factor in the system of our socialist democracy, illustrating the steady increase in participation of the working class and workers as owners of the means of production, creators and beneficiaries of material goods in the leadership of our society and social-economic life and in working out and implementing the party and state policy for the accelerated development of the country on the path of well being and prosperity, socialism and communism.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and other comrades from the party and state leadership were greeted with much warmth and enthusiasm, with strong cheers and ovations on their entrance into the hall.

Together with the party secretary general, taking part in the meeting were Comrade Elena Ceausescu and Comrades Manea Manescu, Emil Bobu, Cornel Burtica, Gheorghe Ciora, Lina Ciobanu, Ion Dinca, Janos Fazekas, Ion Ionita, Petre Lupu, Paul Niculescu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Patan, Dumitru Popescu, Gheorghe Radulescu, Leonte Rautu, Iosif Uglar, Stefan Voitec, Iosif Banc, Teodor Coman, Miu Dobrescu, Mihai Gere, Nicolae

Giosan, Vasile Patilinet, Ioan Ursu, Constantin Dascalescu, Aurel Duma and Ion Stanescu.

Present in the hall were members of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee and of the government, leaders of mass and public organizations.

The work of the meeting was opened by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who said, " At this first meeting I would like to give all members of the National Council of Workers a warm salute from the party Central Committee, the Council of State and government and from me personally, together with the best wishes for success in their activity!

"In accordance with the decisions adopted by the Congress of Councils of Workers, the National Council is formed of 960 members. Comprising it are the leadership councils from the following ministries: mines, petroleum and geology; electrical energy; metallurgical industry; machine construction industry; chemical industry; light industry; forestry economy and construction materials; transport and telecommunications; industrial construction; the Department of Food Industry; the Department of Civil Aviation. Also making part of the National Council of Workers are the Executive Committee of the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions/UGSR/, the Council for Social-Economic Organization; the Central Council of Workers Control of Social and Economic Activity; representatives of the Union of Communist Youth UTC/ Central Committee and of the National Council of Women; workers and foremen; members of the councils of workers elected in meetings of the representatives of workers by counties and municipality of Bucharest.

"We can say that we fulfilled the decisions established by the Congress of Councils of Workers under good conditions with regard to the organization and structure of the National Council."

Continuing, they moved to establish the organs of the National Council and to discuss the problems on the agenda:

1. Election of the Executive Bureau and of the Council vice presidents and secretary;
2. Approval of the following documents:
  - a) Proposals on the organization of the National Council of Workers and improvement in the activity of the councils of workers in industrial, construction and transport units;

b) Draft Law on the Congress of Councils of Workers and National Council of Workers in industry, construction and transport;

c) Some proposals to improve the unified duties of the labor departments in ministries, centrals and enterprises.

Put to a vote, the agenda was unanimously approved by the National Council of Workers.

Then Comrade Iosif Banc, candidate member of the Executive Political Committee and RCP Central Committee secretary, spoke; he stressed that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, was elected by the Congress of Councils of Workers from industry, construction and transport to the highest job of this workers' forum--president of the National Council of Workers.

The participants showed their complete satisfaction with the election of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu as president of the council, a sure guarantee that this high forum will fulfill its duty completely, ensuring the increasingly more powerful assertion of the role of the working class in the leadership of all social-economic life, development of workers democracy and consistent fulfillment of the party program.

Those present gave a stirring expression of deep faith of our nation in the party and its secretary general and the special value and esteem which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu enjoys among all who work in our country for his tireless activity carried out at the front of the party and state for the good and happiness of the Romanian people and their progress and prosperity.

Then they proceeded to elect the Executive Bureau of the National Council, comprised of 43 members.

Elected as vice presidents were Comrades Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee and deputy premier of the government; Gheorghe Pana, member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee and president of the Central Council of the UGSR and minister of labor; Ilie Verdet, member of the Executive Political Committee and RCP Central Committee secretary; Iosif Banc, candidate member of the Executive Political Committee, RCP Central Committee secretary and president of the Central Council of Workers Control of Social and Economic Activity; Ion Foris, first secretary of the Satu Mare County Party Committee; Elena Nae, vice president of the Central Council of the UGSR and president of the Committee of the Union of trade unions in light industry; elected as secretary was Comrade Marin Enache, counsel for the RCP Central Committee. Elected as members were Comrades Constantin Babalau,

minister of mines, petroleum and geology; Trandafir Cocarla, minister of electrical energy; Neculai Agachi, minister of metallurgical industry; Ioan Avram, minister of machine construction industry; Mihail Florescu, minister of chemical industry; Lina Ciobanu, minister of light industry; Vasile Patilinet, minister of forestry economy and construction materials; Traian Dudas, minister of transportation and telecommunications; Vasile Bum-bacea, minister of industrial construction; Gheorghe Petrescu, minister-secretary of state in the Ministry of Machine Construction Industry; Petre Blajovici, minister-secretary of state and head of the Department of Food Industry; Ion Traian Stefanescu, UTC Central Committee first secretary and minister for problems of youth; Mahai Hirjau, UTC Central Committee secretary; Lucian Dragut, first vice president of the Central Council of Workers Control of Social and Economic Activity; Ioachim Moga, first vice president of the Council of Social-Economic Organization; Paul Nagy, secretary of the Central Council of the UGSR; Petre Furdui, president of the Committee of the Union of trade unions of the mining industry, petroleum geology and electrical energy; Viorel Stefanescu, president of the Committee of the Union of trade unions of metallurgy and machine construction; Mihai Munteanu, president of the Committee of the Union of trade unions of the chemical industry and crude oil processing; Arpad Orban, president of the Committee of the Union of trade unions of the forestry economy and construction materials; Mircea Georgescu, president of the Committee of the Union of trade unions of the construction industry; Constantin Iancu, president of the Committee of the Union of trade unions of transportation and telecommunications; Vasile Sechel, director general in the industrial central of tractors and agricultural machinery in Brasov; Adrian Stoica, director general of the industrial central of refineries and petrochemistry in Ploiesti; Virginia Pripitu, member of the Executive Bureau of the National Council of Women and president of the trade union committee in the Baneasa Radio Parts and semi-conductors; Elena Timofte, laboratory worker and secretary of the party committee in the Iasi Tesatura Enterprise; Maria Luca, worker at the Clujeana Leathergoods and Shoe Combine in Cluj-Napoca; Ion Salagean, miner in the Lupeni Mining Enterprise in Hunedoara County; Ilie Bologa, party committee secretary at the Grivita Rosie Chemical Equipment Enterprise in Bucharest; Cornel Boca, foreman-head blast furnace operator at the Galati Iron and Steel Combine; Sofia Klein, spinning worker at the Cismadie Textile Enterprise in Sibiu County; Alexandru Papp, installer foreman at the county trust of assembly-construction-Mures; Maria Ploiasu, foreman's aid at the Craiova Chemical Combine, Dolj County; Nicolae Lazar, setter at the Heavy Machinery Enterprise in Bucharest; Dimitrie Catana, locomotive mechanic at the Timis Regional Railroad.

The National Council then decided to establish commissions by problems and the Executive Bureau was empowered to establish the structure of the commissions, with them to be subject to approval by the National Council at its next meeting.

During the discussions, the speakers stressed that formation of the new collective leadership organ is an event of special importance in the country's economic and social-political life, marking a qualitatively superior stage in the development of workers democracy and ensuring an adequate organizational framework for effective and direct participation of the working class and the workers on a national scale in the leadership of society, economic activity, discussion and adoption of all decisions, in working out annual and long-range plans and in uniting the efforts of all the collectives to implement them. They showed that establishment of the council is closely tied with the tireless activity carried out by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for promotion of the most efficient means and forms of scientific organization and leadership and for mobilization of all forces and vitality of all the energies of our society with a view to the more rapid progress of Romania on the path of progress and socialist civilization.

In a working atmosphere and in the spirit of the directives and orientations included in recent speeches by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the participants analyzed the way the plan tasks and obligations assumed for this year are being fulfilled and the measures which must be taken to fulfill the plan for 1978 and the entire five-year plan under good conditions. The discussions brought out the remarkable successes obtained until now in our socialist industry as well as the shortcomings which still are a negative influence on the achievements of the collectives of workers and which must be eliminated. In this regard, they stressed the need to continue improving work in all compartments of social-economic life. They stressed that more energetic action should be taken for exemplary fulfillment of the plan's quality indicators--primarily for additional growth of labor productivity, full use of production capacities, labor force and working time, efficient utilization of raw materials and materials, reduction of consumption and lowering of production costs with a view to the progress of all economic activity with higher efficiency. At the same time, proceeding from the demands placed by the 11th congress, the need was pointed out to ensure in this five-year plan an intensification of activity devoted to the development of scientific research, most effective and broader application of its results in the economy, sustained promotion of modern techniques and technology, with a view to continually raising the technical and quality level of production.

The speakers made broad references to the experience of the activity of workers councils, to the remarkable achievements they are obtaining in ensuring the participation of the working class and all workers in the leadership of economic units. At the same time, noting some shortcomings in this area, the need was stressed to increase even more the role of the councils of workers and their specific contribution to the good progress of economic activity, to plan fulfillment and continued flourishing of the national economy.

Those who spoke expressed the wish of the collectives they represent to do everything for the National Council to fulfill its duties in the best possible conditions in the continued development and improvement in social-economic activity and in involving the worker masses in implementing party policy.

They then moved to adopt the documents discussed.

The proposals on organization and operation of the National Council of Workers and improvement in the activity of workers councils from industry, construction and transport were unanimously adopted.

Also approved in principle was the Draft Law on the Congress of Councils of Workers and National Council of Workers from industry, construction and transport, which is to be subject to adoption by the Grand National Assembly, with the Executive Bureau being empowered to make certain improvements in light of the discussions which took place regarding this document.

The National Council approved proposals on the unified duties of the labor departments in ministries, centrals and enterprises, deciding that amendments that still have to be made should be made by its Executive Bureau.

In continuation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu made the following observations, remarks and explanations:

"Being present at the first session of the National Council of Workers and since some of the comrades who spoke here more than once formulated the concept of "employees," I would bring to the council's attention that we renounce the usage of this term. The term "employees" does not correspond to the realities of our society, where the workers are the owners of the means of production and the direct producers of material and spiritual goods. As such, the workers cannot be their own employees; they are members of labor collectives where they work in conformity with Romania's laws, with the rights and obligations of owners, producers and beneficiaries of everything produced in our country. Thus, it is prescribed that in the future we use the concept of "working people" or of "worker personnel" for everyone, since the worker, the engineer and the director are part of the col-

lective of working people. These concepts express the reality of our society more exactly--a society of working people which is firmly heading precisely toward the disappearance of the distinctions between different categories of work, including between intellectual and physical work, on the basis of raising the general degree of automation and mechanization and of professional training and conscience of the working class and of all who work. I think that the concept of "working people" and "worker personnel" under current circumstances best answers the reality of our society (strong applause).

"Although it does not directly pertain to the Council of Workers but because the working class fulfills the role as the leading class in our society, I would like to bring another problem to the attention of our first meeting. A way of speaking which does not correspond to the realities of our society has begun to find a place in some institutions--it is true, less in factories but even in certain enterprises. The concepts of "Mr," "Mrs," and "Miss" are being used. But--I am convinced of this--we have eliminated both Mr, Mrs and in general any kind of masters this type. Then we must eliminate these words from our vocabulary, too!

"Of course, we have the general concept which the working class has adopted and currently uses--that of "comrade" and this will have to remain the main concept. However, I think that for more general relationships the concept of "citizen" also can be used; when someone feels that he cannot address someone else with the word "comrade" he should call him citizen, not Mr. This is because there are no more masters in Romania and each person is just a citizen of Romania (lively applause).

I propose that you subject this problem, as a recommendation of the National Council of Workers, to the plenum of the party Central Committee and then the Grand National Assembly, who would adopt it as a standard of relationships and current speaking among citizens of Romania.

Comrades, are you in agreement with these proposals? Who is for it? Thank you. Is there anyone against or anyone who abstains?

The National Council of Workers unanimously adopted these recommendations which we hope will be mastered by the party and state organs and will become law, taking into account the wish of the working class and its representatives."

In concluding the work of the session, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of



the Socialist Republic of Romania and president of the National Council of Workers, delivered a speech.

The speech of the party secretary general was followed with special interest and satisfaction by those present, being emphasized with lively applause and ovations.

In an atmosphere of strong enthusiasm, the participants--direct representatives of working people throughout the country, Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities--gave expression to the decision of our working class and all the people to militate continuously to implement party policy, placed in the service of the continued flourishing of the country and the victory of socialism and communism on Romanian land.

8071

CSO: 2700

## ROMANIA

### TRAINING CENTER FOR CADRES FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 29 Aug 77 p 6

[Article by Stefan Munteanu: "CEPECA--A Romanian Contribution To The Training of Specialists From Developing Nations"]

[Text] As a result of the cooperation between the Romanian Government, on one hand, and the United Nations Program and the International Organization of Labor, on the other hand, 10 years ago in Bucharest the Center for Advanced Training of Management Personnel in the State Economy and Administration (CEPECA) was established. Later, using the experience acquired at this national center, the International Center for the Advanced Training of Personnel from the Developing Nations was also created in Bucharest, within the framework of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy. The dean of these two centers, Professor Dr Engineer Mihail Dumitrescu, furnished us with some details about the activities of the CEPECA International Center during a discussion.

--What did the creation of this international center in the capital of Romania represent?

--The creation of the CEPECA International Center, realized as a result of President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative, represented a means by which our country could materialize its activities in support of the development process of other countries, located on the African continent, in Latin America and Asia, for the purpose of training certain cadre capable of maintaining in their countries an even more accelerated developmental process that is taking place today.

--What is the content of the programs you have organized?

--Currently, CEPECA has 10 programs. Two of them are long term programs referring to management systems in economic units and the organization of informational systems. The short term programs refer to the organization of production and labor, marketing, operational research, the organization of personnel training, the organization of new industrial units, planning methods and techniques, and forecasting. Finally, the other two programs are the results of the requests from our students: they deal with the management personnel working in operations. With regards to the length of the

programs, they vary from 6 to 10 weeks with the possibility, because of the way they are organized, that an entire series of participants can attend successive courses. This permits the participants to increase their horizons of knowledge in management and organization while clearly keeping in mind the Romanian experience in these fields.

It is worth noting the fact that more and more students wish to attend successive programs, especially noting that in the short term programs the applications and concrete character of the materials are more evident. One element of great significance that has enjoyed, similarly, the good comments of the course participants is the fact that in our programs we employ an important number of practical applications, visits to enterprises and visits to industrial or research units. These are applications which give the participants an even more direct contact with Romanian economic reality, elements of strategy and development, and the levels of performance that we have attained.

--Where do the course participants come from?

--To date, we have had approximately 250 participants from 43 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe. Generally, the course participants receive grants from the Romanian state. A large number of students come from international organizations with which we cooperate. I am thinking about the grants we have received from the United Nations Program for Development and the grants we sent to the International Center in Torino.

--If the number and composition of the participants is so diverse, with the students coming from so many continents, in what language is the program conducted?

--Our center presents the courses in French and English and, lately, also in Spanish.

--I would also like you to refer to CEPECA's cooperation with other similar institutes abroad.

--We closely cooperate with the London Business School and we have reciprocal relations, such as exchange students, visiting professors and so forth, with the Center of Industrial Studies in Geneva. We have created programs in management for the Association of Productivity in Japan. I would also like to add that our institute is affiliated with several international organizations, including the British Institute of Management and the European Management Foundation. We have participated, for example, in the proceedings at the last conference of this foundation, where the CEPECA International Center in Bucharest received the high regard of the conference participants who were interested in additional contacts with our center.

--What can you tell us about plans to extend the Center's activities?

--Firstly, there are plans for a greater degree of diversification of programs. Secondly, there are plans to conceptualize the programs so that there will be a broader spectrum of participants, that is, not only top management personnel, but also operational personnel. Thirdly, there is the orientation towards the technological components in our programs: the balanced correlation of management and organization with the specific requirements of certain fields and branches of activity. Likewise, I would like to note the concern of the Center to continue its cooperation, through the granting of technical assistance, in projects in certain developing nations. As you see, the Center has a broad field of activities and I can say that there is an orientation and concentrated effort on the part of all those who work at the CEPECA International Center to maintain this development. The Center is part of the consistent concern of our country to contribute to the concrete and efficient support of the developing nations in their efforts for economic and social emancipation, objectives which call for the existence of an ever greater number of their own highly trained personnel.

8724

CSO: 2700

## ROMANIA

### DATA ON TRAINING OF FOREIGN STUDENTS IN ROMANIA

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Sep 77 p 6

[Article by Gh. Cercelescu: "Support to the Young States in the Forming of Their Own National Cadre"]

[Text] "In its international relations, Romania gives great attention to cooperation in the field of training cadre. In Romania, thousands of young people from abroad, especially from the developing nations, are learning; at the same time, thousands of Romanian specialists are giving technical assistance in these countries."--Nicolae Ceausescu

More than 11,000 young people from about 130 countries, the majority of which are developing countries, are studying in Romania.

Almost half the number of foreign students are receiving training in the most important areas of science and technology such as: electronics, electrical engineering, cybernetics, and petrochemistry.

More than 1,000 Romanian professors are working in the developing countries to raise the level of instruction and education of the youth.

About 10,000 Romanian specialists are sharing their experiences in these countries, especially on the occasion of the joint construction of economic projects.

For the developing nations, the formation and training of cadre constitutes a fundamental problem whose solution depends directly upon the consolidation of independence, the efficient use of national wealth, the elimination of under-development and economic, cultural and social progress. As is well-known, in this regard the developing nations have inherited from a past of foreign domination an extremely difficult situation. At the time of their liberation, they were nearly totally lacking the national cadre necessary for the vital areas of economic and social activity, with these countries practically being tributaries of their former mother countries. For this reason, the formation of national cadre has become an objective of decisive

importance in the strategy of developing all the countries that are economically under-developed.

In this sense, Romania's own experience is edifying. Within the framework of its plans for the accelerated growth of its economy, Romania accords special attention to the development of education and to the training and higher education of its work force in close association with the achievements of science and technology.

By conclusively illustrating, through sustained efforts, how to train cadre in a relatively short period of time who can deal with the most varied demands in the fields of science, the use of modern technologies and the development of culture, our country's experience is stirring up a lively interest in the developing nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

At the same time, socialist Romania, itself a developing nation, makes an active contribution to the education and advanced training of the national cadre necessary to the states that have taken the step onto the path of independent development and the assistance accorded in this direction constitutes a concrete expression of our people's solidarity with the people of these countries in the joint struggle against imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policies and for the economic and social progress of mankind.

In this regard, it is an especially eloquent fact within the general framework of Romania's cooperation with the developing nations--relations strongly stimulated by the meetings and discussions between President Nicolae Ceausescu and the chiefs of state and government of these nations, both in Bucharest and abroad--that relations in the fields of education, culture and technical-scientific research occupy an important position. Thus, of the 129 states with which Romania has diplomatic relations, 95--with the overwhelming majority of this number being developing nations--have concluded governmental agreements for cultural-scientific cooperation with our country. Along with these agreements, a series of other agreements have continually broadened the sphere of our foreign affairs in the area of education.

The principal means by which Romania grants its assistance in the formation of the national cadre in the developing nations are the training of young persons from these nations in Romanian schools and the professional training of these persons in their countries by professors and other specialists from Romania.

The sustained development of economic cooperation between Romania and the developing nations, in whose framework numerous projects are being jointly realized, and the practical nature of the education which is adapted to meet the requirements of development are all factors which are bringing about the continuing increase of requests for training and specialization in Romania. In this regard, it is revealing that during the 1964-1965 school year 561

young foreign students were studying in our country; in 1974-1975, this number grew to over 5,000 and for 1976-1977 the number will exceed 11,000, with better than half of this number being supported by grants from the Romanian state.

The majority of the foreign students who are studying in Romania is made up of those who are trained for professions that can be directly employed by the young states in their efforts to create and develop their own industry which, in turn, can ensure their general progress. Thus, of the total number of foreign students who are studying in 27 institutes of higher learning in Bucharest, Iasi, Cluj-Napoca, Timisoara, Craiova, Ploiesti, Brasov and Galati, 51 percent are attending polytechnical schools. And of this number, nearly half are trained in the top fields of science and technology, such as electronics, electrical engineering, cybernetics, petrochemical engineering.

Likewise, Romanian medical training, which includes nearly 40 percent of the foreign students, is a major subject in the training of the national cadre of the developing nations. Romania thus makes a precious contribution to the training of the cadre necessary to resolve one of the most serious social problems facing these countries--medical care.

Our country contributes, however, not only to the formation of cadre having additional and higher studies, but also to the specialization of these cadre in fields of special importance for the rapid progress of the developing nations. Thus, the Institute of Petroleum and Gas in Ploiesti is organizing, under the aegis of UNESCO, post-graduate courses lasting one year to further train the cadre necessary to develop the petrochemical industry. These courses are also being organized by the University of Bucharest for specialization in mathematics and information sciences. At the same time, at the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy and especially at the CEPECA International Center, as well as at other education centers, cadre are being trained and improved who work in the economy and state administration, in politics and the trade unions, and youth organizations. Similarly, the United Nations-Romanian Demographic Center provides training in problems that arise in the area of interdependence between the population and socioeconomic development.

Another important way in which Romania is granting assistance to the formation of cadre for the developing nations is the direct participation of Romanian professors and other specialists in achieving these nations' national programs for professional education and training. During the past school year, over 1,000 teachers from our country taught in the schools and universities in these countries, with a good part of the Romanian professors having, at the same time, the mission to head university departments and clinics, to draw up long term training programs, to organize scientific activities and to write school courses and manuals.

In Algeria, for example, at the University of Constantine, Romanian professors are organizing four institutes of higher learning: agronomy and veterinary medicine, rural construction, forestry economy and electrical engineering;

these efforts are adding to other actions of this nature. With the help of teachers from Romania, in Ziare programs in higher education were organized in mathematics, dentistry and veterinary medicine. Romanian professors of mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology are teaching in 70 towns and villages in Morocco, practically in every place where there are colleges and high schools. In Tunisia, Romanian professors and other specialists, who are teaching in professional high schools and schools in approximately 30 locations, are training average cadre in the fields of agricultural mechanization, electronics, mechanics and construction. At the same time, also in Tunisia as well as of Morocco, teachers from our country are making a notable contribution to the development of higher medical training. In the Republic of Guinea, Mozambique, Liberia and Madagascar, Romanian professors are making a significant contribution to the development of polytechnical, agronomic and medical training.

Romanian specialists who are participating in the joint construction of certain economic projects are also making a precious contribution to the formation of national cadre in the developing nations. In addition to technical assistance, they are also providing the professional training of the local cadre necessary to the proper operation of these projects. By working side by side to build these projects, the experience gained in our country is shared with these national cadre. At the same time, friendships are made and the mutual knowledge and closeness of the people are furthered.

Romania grants important assistance in the formation of national cadre for developing nations not only on a bilateral basis, but also on a multilateral basis. A series of Romanian specialists are carrying out their activities in these countries as experts and consultants for UNESCO, FAO, the United Nations Development Program and so forth, within the framework of cooperative agreements between our country and the different specialized organs of the United Nations.

At the same time, Romania is militating in the United Nations and specialized organs of the United Nations for the solution, by way of international cooperation, of the fundamental problems of training national cadre. Among other things, our country has proposed the creation of a Special Fund for Grants, to be administered by UNESCO, to which the developed countries, first of all, would contribute.

Both through its direct assistance accorded to the formation of cadre and its initiatives in international bodies, our country is making an effective contribution in an essential area of the efforts to eliminate underdevelopment and help the rapid progress of the countries experiencing underdevelopment. In flagrant contrast to this concrete and efficient assistance, there are the old practices of colonialist and neocolonialist policies which work not to help the efforts of forming national cadre, but, conversely, to impede the cadre in the developing nations, thus keeping from them an important element in their progress.



In the spirit of its consistent, principled policy, Romania will also help the efforts of these countries in the future in the field of training their national cadre, being convinced that this policy has a decisive importance for the elimination of underdevelopment and for the creation of a new international economic order for the good of all humanity.

8724

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COURAGE, PATRIOTISM OF LATE HISTORIAN GIURESCU HAILED

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 18 Nov 77 p 1

[Article by Eugen Barbu: "Giurescu"]

[Text] He left us suddenly, with a discretion which characterized his whole life -- Constantin C. Giurescu, one of our great historians, modern chronicler of the history of the Romanians, a man of great scientific probity for whom that which Calinescu called the millenary epic synthesis was not an adventure, a joke which one can make about people.

In times when to tell the truth about the beleaguered existence of the Romanians in these parts for a period of 2,050 years signified a test of courage and also involved risks which he did not avoid, Giurescu did not dip his pen in the poison ink with which other confreres covered the driveling paper of the false treatises thrown on the garbage heap of time. You can falsify everything except the concrete data of history which, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asserts, must be written as it has been and, in no case, as some would like it to be compiled in order to justify aggression, tacit or direct, annexations of territories or even of moral beings such as poets, men of science, or philosophers. With a weapon extended, one can frighten not only individuals but also entire nations; however, weapons become rusty so rapidly and become outmoded, the conquerors and the powerful of yesterday fall, with all arrogance, flat on their faces and the sword crumbles in their hand when they are not thinking. Great empires have built temples and arches of triumph which the moving sands have devoured, leaving behind only some bits of stone or vestiges of laurel which time has crushed.

If this lesson was understood by Giurescu, the son of an historian and the father of the third chornicle writer in his family, from his early youth, if he has been able to resist the unfounded theses of a Roller or of a Barbu T. Cimpina, who had made of our history a fair and a circus, this is a result of the assimilation of a deep belief in the justice of time which has a memory. It is not a matter of a narrow understanding of the interests of his nation because pro domo pleas do not have a long

life. It is something else: the power of seeking in the Romanian soil, in the Romanian language, and in Romanian customs the history which is a science and not a tale for children in the kindergartens for whom the legends remain a beautiful nourishment. Working an entire life, studying the documents forgotten in the archives, hidden from others who are also learned, he gave proof to us of the courage which all the scholars of this world have, the courage to start from nothing, in order to be able to reconstruct from a mark engraved in a stone by a calligrapher, from a shovel of earth taken from the depths of the land by a tired plowman or from a magnificent verse written in a book, this virtual birth certificate which every nation needs.

Giurescu engaged in many polemics with an elegance which was characteristic of him. Among others, he confronted the great Nicolae Iorga to whom he showed all respect, even in the crossings of swords which they had, because, indeed, they both fought for the same noble cause and, like all research, historical research has its gaps, obscurities, impasses, and controversies. Perhaps this man of high moral bearing, the cold, distant man of the library and the university department, without a taste for the easy life, not allowing himself any relaxation, pursuing the document at every moment and seeking it where you would least expect it, lacked a stylistic breadth and a certain plasticity of words. He did not have the tumult of the giant of Valeni, that oratorical lava which made history a discourse before anything else; perhaps he did not have the elegaic charm of a Vasile Parvan and the poetic madness of N. Densusianu but the man of the laboratory does not allow himself lyricisms in a discipline of figures and of moral quantities which hang more in the balance of facts than a metaphor. This is why Giurescu should be considered a great historian--because of his skill in freezing words, not allowing any dilation or any escape to inexactness because the discipline which he served did not tolerate this. History is a glacial mummy, with sphinx eyes viewing the millenia undisturbed, coming from the future and going toward the past. History is an electronic apparatus which does not take into account the sentimentality of the manipulator; it is filled only with exact data and syllogisms. The history book must be devoid of affection and the person who left our midst recently has understood this better than any other man. His death has deprived the intellectual landscape of the country of a great personality.

To the illustrious deceased, a man of letters for whom history was a reservoir of living water and love of country a perpetual stimulus, we give a final homage at the moment in which Constantin C. Giurescu, who has gone to the Elysian Fields, leaves behind him his monumental work beyond which no one can pass.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

AUTHOR OF "DELIRIUM" RESPONDS TO FOREIGN ATTACKS

Bucharest AMFITEATRU in Romanian Sep 77 p 12

/Interview with Marin Preda by Dina Flamand/

/Text/ /Q/ It is 2 years since the appearance of "Delirium," one of your very successful books. I think it is time, honored Marin Preda, that you be asked how the idea for this novel came about.

/A/ I wanted to write "Delirium" since 1949 but at that time I was not prepared for such a book although the events were spectacular and tempting, some lived directly. In "Life as a Bounty," I showed the state of spirit which ruled me in those years. Yet my passion for history made me reflect on present history and the war from which we had hardly emerged. We had emerged, but I had to look back to see what had happened before the outbreak. The product of this return was another book; the hour of "Delirium" was withdrawing.

/Q/ Yet how did you write "Delirium"? Why now and not 10 years ago?

/A/ I think many writers have a pressure which determines whether or not they write a certain book. After "The Moromete Family" it seemed urgent that I continue writing not only about the fate of those heroes but also about the village where they lived and about the human collectivity confronted with serious events. These events left behind the troubled and fatal history of 1940-1944. True, my heroes and the people in general and all Romanians still remember the acts of that time. But other events attracted them. Now history was entering in their backyard. Now people ask themselves what they should do with the cart, the horses, the land, and these questions could not be avoided any longer. No longer was it a matter now of a storm coming from the heart of Germany, run aground in the heart of Russia and

then returning to devastate Germany itself. That story with Hitler and Antonescu now seemed very distant and almost without any importance compared with the challenge of the new events. Also pressed by these new events I had to answer those real questions as a writer. For years on end I looked at the paper asking myself those same questions which worried the human collectivity. That is how I wrote "The Moromete Family II", "The Great Lonely One" and "Impossible Return." And only after I wrote them was the eye of memory able to return to those events which seemed so distant--that is, to 1940, to the beginning and the end of the war. Freed from the obsession with the acutely modern events, I then could take up again in peace the history of the Moromete family from the point where I had left it in the first volume. Now I could ask myself what happened with the three boys who fled home for Bucharest and I could ask myself the tempting question: What did the narrator himself do? The narrator could not be Nicolae Moromete, who remained in the village, but Paul Stefan, also a Moromete, who had left the village. Paul Stefan could play the role of martyr in the book through his fate, through his small life seeking happiness, as Stendhal would say. The narrator follows him but knows more. The revelation of these possibilities for construction caused me to start writing the novel immediately. Despite appearances the documentation was not enormous. I did not want to write a historical novel reconstructing the era but only to give voice to certain questions of modern history, our's and man's in general, in an age where the times had become unhinged, as Shakespeare said.

[Q] I will interrupt you so that you dwell on the documentary aspect. Today's reader is thirsty for documentary literature, taken until there, so that sometimes a basic truth of literature is forgotten: that literature is fiction. Do you not have the impression that some commentators on the book overbid the documentary and historical aspect, forgetting that the novel still is a work of fiction?

[A] It happened that some readers, especially foreigners, were surprised by the way I treated the problem of the psychology of the character involved in history as if they have forgotten the imprescriptible right of the writer to interpret a historical character, ignoring a rudimentary outline. When Albert Camus wrote the play "Caligula," he, too, set aside an outline transmitted by historians and created a living character who does not contradict history but who still is something else--an insensitive man, himself surprised by his insensitivity, even enchanted by it. Antonescu seemed to be and believed himself to be a providential man and he arrived to be among the war criminals of Europe as a former faithful ally of Hitler. To examine such a conscience does not mean to rehabilitate it historically but to

try and decipher in it, among other things, the fatal determinations of sick times.

[Q] What does a prose writer feel when the epic line leads him toward a celebrated character of history?

[A] Long reflection on the people who create events or are carried by events, added to which are biographies, studies, documents and intimate journals can lead us to a time fully revealed. Then those amazing generic human bodies appear which make us ignore the fact that the character is an exponent of history and guess the behavior like ours, whose movements, steps, words and sentiments we can follow and subject to merciless judgment the truth about man. Tolstoi did not know Napoleon but he could deduce that he was a vain, petty and ignorant individual with regard to individual liberty and his wish for happiness. The corpses Napoleon saw on the battlefield did not impress him. He was only satisfied in itself that he had led a battle he had won brilliantly. While I was writing the novel I did not have any detailed biographies about Hitler to be able to say too much about him. So in the book I only told things I was sure were true.

[Q] There are very many mass scenes and street battles in the book. To what extent did you live them?

[A] Only what is shown in "Life as a Bounty." The rest belongs to the imagination released by documents. To my satisfaction sometimes it happened that I would later discover in documents what I had imagined.

[Q] What surprised you most about the Bucharest of that time? You describe the city with a secret sympathy!

[A] I did not study either the period furniture or old palaces--there are very few of them, by the way, one can say--nor did I live in luxury. I liked what I guessed I would find--that is, intensive cultural life. I wanted to enter and, of course, assert myself.

[Q] The title "Delirium" defines the book very precisely. Hitler was in delirium, Antonescu, too, and the legionnaires no less than that. Is there really a special "delirium" of the moment, a collective exultation?

[A] Speaking directly a psychosis of the invincible force which was the German army had been created. Its victories over England and France in the west were brutal acts which could not be ignored. The critical spirit was in great difficulty. France's

tragedy was not so much a violation of the country but the doubt which had covered certain spirits, the fear that history was taking another course, a final fatal course. Of course, I do not forget the importance of the French Resistance, but collaborationism there was the expression of this confusion.

/Q/ Continually returning to history, I observe that an important part of the novel, especially Part IV, is an essay on history. Do you not neglect the characters through this big space of direct intervention? Could not these meditations belong to the newspaperman Patriciu?

/A/ It seemed very complicated for me to give such a problem to the newspaperman Patriciu who actually was employed by Antonescu or Paul Stefan, who was hardly more than an adolescent. Speaking more precisely, because I should have created a problematic character to whom to attribute thoughts and sentiments which I did not discover in anyone and which even I myself did not have except many years after the events were over.

/Q/ What will happen to Paul Stefan in the second, coming volume?

/A/ Another book now is urgently waiting on my desk. As I said at the beginning, other books were pressing me to write them before "Delirium." This book I am working on now is separating me from Paul Stefan for a time.

/Q/ Books also have their fate, something which has been known since ancient times. What fate did "Delirium" have?

/A/ One of the more bizarre fates, salacious and at the same time absurd. Articles appeared in DER SPIEGEL and then in L'EXPRESS which showed us that the western weeklies, calm and so sure of themselves (at least it appears that they know everything well and you have to believe in them at all costs), often write by ear about things they do not know the nature of and which express only hypotheses of sensation and speculation without a theme intended merely to feed the curiosity of the reader who, let us say, is not interested in the truth of a situation of culture in a country which in general he knows very little. Such magazines, which otherwise appear sensitive to culture, judge my novel by placing it in false circumstances and drawing false conclusions which do not in the least belong in the area of aesthetics but that of politics. The weeklies mentioned as well as other European papers credited the idea that this book was "ordered," "approved," and so forth, not conceiving that one can write a book freely in Romania. I confess that these gross mystifications of the truth disgust me. However, the American

newsmen published more shaded articles which were closer to the truth, informing the readers that it is a book on the war which impressed the Romanian public. Otherwise, the book's fate in Romania is well known and even received a "speech" announced with fanfare in the press and on television.

8071

CSO: 2700



## ROMANIA

### POLLUTION OF FOLK MUSIC DECRIED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Oct 77 p 4

/Article by Smaranda Oteanu/

/Text/ As George Breazul said, "From those flashes of Thracian music which we discover in the Romanian conscience up until today, going through centuries of changes, the musical soul of the people has been formed with time--authentic, characteristic, a lively and conclusive witness to our genius and our aspirations." Old documents speak of Wallachian songs from the 14th century, of musicians from the army of Muntenians in the 15th century, of the song of Moldavian trumpets from the time of Stefan the Great. A Polish chronicler wrote around 1574 that there was "a glorious and old custom" in Muntenia, Moldova and Transylvania: the famous people being celebrated through songs. And the music of the eight trumpeters announcing the entry of Mihai Voda Viteazul into Alba Iulia? And those sounds of bagpipes mentioned in the "Voronet Codex?" They are just several proofs of the age-old traditional musical culture of the Romanian people and their famed musicality.

Hundreds of pages and documented studies have been written, the products of life-long scientific research, about our doinas, about the customs and songs of love, about Romanian dances. You find in our ballads acts of bravery, pages of history and fantastic tales which tell of Miorita, you find out how joy is expressed, listening to a dance punctuated with calls; let a doina start to fill your soul. Folklore is a science. It is studied for years. The technique of notation and regional characteristics and musical instruments are learned. A distinction is made between the Banat dances and the songs from Nasaud, between the Oltenian melodies and the doinas of Bucovina.

Romanian popular creation: a treasury of spirituality, an inestimable wealth we respect and keep as a gratifying document telling of the tradition of our nationality--a new creation of

recent decades in which today's history of the country is fully heard, sung or delivered in vigorous verses.

We are happy when young people with special talents, passionate collectors who have discovered yet another song, appear in the regional and national competitions and on the successful Radio-Television broadcast entitled "The Flower From the Garden." We are happy when we hear the orchestra of popular music formed of amateurs, presented at the "Song of Romania" festival and we see that artists have a good knowledge of the folklore from the particular region. We have numerous professional folklore ensembles, we have specialists, instructors, methodologists who work at the houses of culture and cultural halls and in county centers for guiding the activity of amateur artists.

An imposing network of performances, concerts, contests, popular celebrations and festivals. And when talented young people appear, when new formations are noted, when we find that such and such an ensemble won another gold medal at an international demonstration it is our pride, the pride of everyone. Talented artists are encouraged, launched, called on to record for radio, put on records, filmed for television. And, of course, encouraged to interpret in the most personal possible style since, as Constantin Brailoiu wrote a long time ago, "all researchers have remained surprised by the freedom with which the popular interpreters handle the melodies interpreted, seen by them as a thing which is absolutely theirs." Thus, "freedom" of the interpreters. We want to devote the following lines to this subject because not all soloists of popular music--among those who, as we said, were launched with effort for years to become messengers of authentic song--understand by freedom "to handle" the popular melodies respect for the treasury of Romanian song and dance. Not all our soloists succeed in maintaining a moral behavior and demonstrating responsibility of the interpretation for the music he is propagating, respect for the public. We cannot help but applaud Sofia Vicoveanca, this Maria Tanase from Bucovina, when the young men of the village gather in a circle and she invites them to dance, or Gheorghe Rosoga, when he sings "Outlaw" and the ballad "On an Out-of-the-Way Road." We cannot help but thrill to the singing of the Petreus brothers or when we hear the alp horn players from Alba, or the callers from Oas or when Titiana Mihali sings a song of the Mures. At the same time, we cannot ignore the disagreement of the audiences, the opinion of specialists and observations of those who organize the programs and artistic tournaments and the notes of cultural instructors who more than once, in recent years especially, have drawn the attention of the forums of the press to the acts of lack of discipline, behavior lacking respect and decency for the public from certain soloists who are well enough known and who otherwise have a rich repertory and know how to sing the songs of chosen inspiration.

"I recall," said Univ Prof Emilia Comisel, "that at one of the editions of 'Buzau Autumn,' I really wanted to leave the hall when Benone Sinulescu began to deliver a vulgar text; why was there a need for these 'pearls' when this particular soloist knows so many authentic songs?" It was a necessary intervention, healthy, the stopping of certain texts such as "Balalau" and "Codin" to make his "career" and yet later we heard them at popular parties. It is no secret that well-known soloists, whom we have encouraged and presented as "models" for so many lovers of folklore, sometimes abuse the podiums on which they are invited to sing. As is known, among them is also Ion Dolanescu. They mislead public opinion, presenting other texts--other so-called "verses" of the worst quality--to a well-known melody with acceptable text. A certain text for the melody "Green Leaves of Melilot" or for "Green Leaves of Dewlap," for example, is approved for them for concerts, but in public the soloist presents other texts. Instead of spreading what the people have created for hundreds of years, instead of raising the standard of the spectators' taste here they are inserting vulgar "verses" which lack any good taste but which they offensively mix in with the "folklore inspired by the new and happy life of the Romanian village of today." These practices must be destroyed. In play here are the spirituality and taste of our people. And because I have mentioned the "model" of Dolanescu, I would like to draw attention to the fact that some less discerning young people have copied his costume, that so-called popular costume of shirt with big gaudy flowers which actually has no connection with the taste and fantasy of our peasant. There is also a lot to say about some of the specialist text writers of the professional ensembles who more than once burden the melodies with heavy rhymes, done and redone, put together unskillfully. I mention yet another phenomenon--that of imitation. There are talented young people--for example, Nicolae Rotaru (Slobozia), Mioara Pitulice (Adunatii-Copaceni), Elena Sinmihaian (Nasaud)--who bring songs collected from those spots and not heard until now. But they use tape recorders and after a while Mioara Pitulice's ballad is presented on the record of Irina Loghin.

Neither distortion of the texts nor borrowing of texts--to express it delicately--belongs in Romanian popular music. On the other hand, in a hurry after cheap success, some interpreters, real two-faced singers, find it convenient to "entertain" the public by changing one text with another, like at the circus. For example, why is it that soloist Ion Dolanescu sings this on records: "Green leaves of dewlap, Bring the horse, Simion, To put the saddle on his back, So I can go to my girl in the valley" but at public concerts, weddings and christenings he uses version No 2: "Bring the horse, Simion, So I can go to Tanta in the valley, Tie the dog up, Or else I'll come in the window, Tanta" after which

three engagements follow, all with Maria and swearing under his breath precisely when the dog was barking.

Of course, singer Ion Dolanescu, in his great modesty, should recognize the fact that he is not a perfect artist; however, it cannot be overlooked the repeated ethics of a man who, enjoying some popularity, finds some little spot in the usually clean columns of a magazine where he lets several tears of "suffering" fall, tears caused, I imagine, by the injustices I committed toward him by criticizing him for the behavior described above. Not for him, but for the good name of the magazine fooled, we have at our disposal the texts which, it is true, I did hear with my very own ears but we could let anyone read them who wants to. Our popular singer probably was moved enough with his velvety voice, making it believe that I criticized him "by ear." I openly admit, as self-criticism, that I have this bad habit of criticizing only what I have heard with my own ears and when, differing from others who deliver justice with borrowed ears pretending to have heard and understood what they have not heard. For that reason, for the love of truth, I have to refresh his memory a little and we can do this in more than one way. First it is not true that some pieces--those "interpreted" in the way mentioned, but which our soloist considers not more and not less than "patriotic!--would be recorded on a record or broadcast on radio or television. Second, no matter how much he shouts, or, if you please, sings loud, we cannot help but hear what others say, too: "Although in general the performance enjoyed audience appreciation, the presence of certain songs, including 'Tanto' or those sung at the finale of the first show, which included direct references to soloist Ion Dolanescu's personal life, led to a lowering of the artistic level and elimination of the educational content which should characterize each show." This was written to me by a group of methodologists from Mangalia referring to the concerts of the "Hategana" orchestra on 22 August at 1800 and 2030 in the city's culture house. As University reader Vasile Dinu adds, "I would like you to note that more than once I informed the forums of the practices of some of our soloists--those who 'create' texts which have no connection with folklore. The 'freedom' they assume with foregone power to propagate vulgar texts and distort the meaning of some well-known song, bordering on the ridiculous, and launching ambiguous texts. Just as they should watch the authenticity of the harmonies of popular songs and authenticity of orchestration and folkloric truth which the folk music bands respect, so should our soloists be watched closely. Our people have created and do create wonderful songs and verses which receive applause all over the world. Nobody is allowed to ignore the values of the true folkloric song and distort the verse texts and propose loose interpretations. And when I say these things I am even thinking of some of the well-known soloists, stars raised by us, who have impressive numbers of records."

True, the public is also tired of "My wife swore at me, seeing me bald" and of "Always with my cattle, always on my money" and even of "Poor, poor girl, chasing the cows every day" always sung by the Dolanescu brothers. They are also bored with "Marie from the bend, Why are you so conceited, Because you have a cow in the front yard, A goat and a grey cow," a "successful" melody from the repertory of Ion Balasoiu and Maria Cornescu--as a reader informs us. There are many other "pearls," "precious stones," which the public does not need. Because these all pollute folklore and throw shameful shadows on this treasury of truth, feeling and sensibility which our people have cultivated, kept, enriched and beautified for centuries. "Tanto" or texts about the love stories of some stars are not on records or on the radio. "There are enough interpreters with all kinds of things knocked together: about Loto-Pronosport (Gaby Lunca, for example), with Tanta (Ionela Prodan), with "Balalau" and "Codin" (Ion Dolanescu)," the director of Electrocord Records, Teodor Cartis, told us. "We refuse their offers but they don't give up; they start interfering. In any case, we cannot edit such things just as we cannot allow the world to be disinformed, telling them that these stupid people are to be recorded." We noted Cardex No 15066 (radio) which characterized a melody in this way: "In the style of Loghin." I asked what this formula means and was told it is a melody not broadcast as "authentic folklore" but as a kind of personal, kind of whimpering creation of the type "Why, Mother, Why Father," "Don't Be Mad, Young Men," or "I'm Crying Because I've Become Old."

It is the duty of the specialized directorate from the Council of Culture and Socialist Education, Electrocord Records and Radio-Television Commission which approve the texts of the songs of popular music, and of the organizers of concerts and performances--the actual forums which watch the good development of our artistic life and quality of shows--to firmly intervene when trends of pollution such as those mentioned above appear here and there, at first unostentatious, then claiming "success." It is a duty of honor, in fact, of all musicians and those who love popular creation and authentic Romanian song and dance.

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YUGOSLAVIA

CONCERN EXPRESSED OVER NUMBERS EXPELLED FROM CROATIAN LC

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 77 p 5

[Excerpts] On 22 November the Statutory Commission of the Croatian LC discussed the report on its work in the period between the two [Croatian] LC congresses and made the judgment that its activity has included not only settling complaints but, in pointing to violations of statute prescriptions, has contributed to the fact that basic LC organizations have been discussing essential questions on party life and the action of communists under concrete working and living conditions.

Commission members discussed especially the part of the report which spoke of the number of persons expelled from the LC and the reasons for this. Commission President Jelica Radojcevic and several participants in the discussion pointed out that the final version of the report should analyze the number of 3,290 who were expelled and compare it with other periods. This pertains especially to the fact that 58 members were expelled because of nationalism, chauvinism, and unitarianism, all but one of whom had complained to the commission. At the same time 1,773 members were expelled because of political irresponsibility and passivity in carrying out obligations, 88 of whom had complained to the commission.

Also of concern is the fact that only 118 members complained to the commission because they were removed from the registry, although since the 7th Croatian LC Congress 8,089 members had been removed, including 3,124 workers. When one adds to this the fact that 2,670 members voluntarily left the LC, 1,331 of whom were workers, the problem acquires far broader dimensions and not only this commission but other Croatian LC organs should give greater consideration to this.

END

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